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Lectures on the English Language. By GEORGE P. MARSH. New York: Charles Scribner & Co.

DESPITE the travellers' tales, all true hearts beat most fondly for home. So there is no draught so sweet as that from the Old Oaken Bucket. Let it down into the "well of English undefiled," and it brings us up a sparkling draught, of which the euphuist tourist knows nothing. As Mr. Marsh's pretty motto puts it:—

"What! crave ye wine, when ye have Nilus to drink of?"

And in all matters of language, men of feeling and of sense are of the mind of the Syrian,—that Abana and Pharpar are better than all the rivers of Israel.

Yet it must be confessed that the popular illustration of our language has in many instances fallen into hands wholly unfit for it. What is called English grammar in the schools is apt to give only a prejudice against the name. It proves of no assistance to the student in his use of his own language. It does not even suggest to him the method of studying it, nor so much as tell him what there is to study. True, the school treatises upon it are sometimes abridged from the more elaborate studies of writers of some merit. But in these cases, the abridgment is often made by omitting what is interesting, and of course important, and retaining only that

which the student ought to know without book, and which, because unimportant, is uninteresting. The study of the English language is generally confined, in our best and worst schools alike, to memory-work over such abridgments. To this fact we are disposed to refer the general impression, that the study of our own language is so difficult as to be well-nigh impracticable and impossible.

Bearing this impression in mind, Mr. Marsh has made these lectures pre-eminently popular; adapting them with the most patient care to readers not acquainted with any language but English. While he pleads well for the study of the classical tongues, of Anglo-Saxon, of Sanscrit, and of the best modern Continental languages, he still maintains the ground, that a thorough and even philosophical knowledge of English may be gained by students who have had no such advantages. This position will seem paradoxical perhaps, but it is well sustained, and, as we believe, proved. And although this volume contains, particularly in the notes, a world of illustrations from the author's immense erudition, collected from the study of every available Aryan language this side of Sanscrit, and from those of the Semitic families as well, the book is still wholly intelligible and thoroughly interesting to any person who knows no more of foreign languages than Benjamin Franklin did when he expressed himself in what is almost the best English that was ever written down.

When we speak of Mr. Marsh's immense erudition, we express our ruling feeling whenever we lay down this volume. We are not surprised that one living man should have known all the recondite facts which are here arranged together. The wonder is that at any moment, or in any year of his life, one man can re-collect them and arrange them in their precise places in the study of this grand organized living being which we call the English language. The extent and accuracy of Mr. Marsh's studies were early known in America. Before the Icelandic language had attracted the attention in Europe which it deserved from its early development, from its singular peculiarities, and from its fortunate freedom from influences of Southern tongues during the last six centuries, Mr. Marsh had been engaged upon it. His collection of Icelandic

books, as we remember it near twenty years since, was the largest and best in the world, lacking indeed only a few volumes to make it an absolutely complete exhibition of everything printed in that remarkable literature. Meanwhile, with the strong good sense which has more than once marked the people of Vermont, his neighbors preferred to be represented in the American Congress by this scholar, known already in all the homes of learning, to any advantage which they might derive from sending there one of the partisan Tapers or Tadpoles of the place or day. Nothing is more charming than the worth of learning and letters even in the chaos of Washington. And Mr. Marsh did good work there for every one, in the Congress Library, and in the plans which he and Mr. Choate laid out and carried through for the Smithsonian Library. Although these plans proved too great for this nation or its commonplace rulers to comprehend, and the library-fund has gone the way of most funds at Washington, their value was recognized so long as their authors were there to maintain them. But the government having occasion to employ Mr. Marsh in foreign service, with the feeling perhaps that it would have at least one Foreign Minister who could speak a foreign language, sent him, so thoroughly read in the literature of the North of Europe, to be our representative at Constantinople. "They builded better than they knew," if we are right in supposing that to this fortunate appointment we owe the illustrations drawn from Oriental sources in these Lectures on the English Language.

Mr. Marsh was appointed Professor of the English Language in Columbia College, New York, two or three years ago. An admirable plan was then proposed, which we trust may be loyally carried out until it is an accepted institution of the city of New York. It aimed at elevating this College from that rank of an academy of young men with which most of our colleges are satisfied, by arranging some systems of Lectures to be delivered to men and women from the community at large. The College under this system becomes an essential part of the training which a large city gives to all who live in it. Among the first of these courses—which were called "Post-graduate Lectures" although the word "post-graduate"

was in no dictionary, and they were delivered to many persons who had never graduated at all — were the thirty Lectures on the English Language now before us. We cannot but regard it as singularly fortunate that these new arrangements for education have been so auspiciously begun.

After a valuable Introductory Lecture, which states the general object of the course, Mr. Marsh enters on the discussion, first, of the origin of speech, and then of that of the English language. In this chapter is a great deal of curious information, new to most readers, with regard to the little tribes to whom we are apt to give the indefinite names of Angles and Saxons. We do not, however, dwell on these opening chapters, because we have to call the attention of our readers at some length to the more essential parts of the volume.

It will be remembered that Mr. Marsh addresses “persons of liberal culture, who have not made the English language a matter of particular study, talk, or observation.” Early in his course, therefore, he discusses the practical uses of etymology, and the value of different foreign helps to the knowledge of English. Of these foreign helps, of course, the knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon and Latin tongues gives by far the most essential part; and here we have this striking comparison of the value of these two:—

“Further study would teach an intelligent foreigner that he had overrated the importance and relative amount of the foreign ingredients; that many of our seemingly insignificant and barbarous consonantal monosyllables are pregnant with the mightiest thoughts and alive with the deepest feeling; that the language of the purposes and the affections, of the will and of the heart, is genuine English born; that the dialect of the market and the fireside is Anglo-Saxon; that the vocabulary of the most impressive and effective pulpit orators has been almost wholly drawn from the same pure source; that the advocate who would convince the technical judge, or dazzle and confuse the jury, speaks Latin; while he who would touch the better sensibilities of his audience, or rouse the multitude to vigorous action, chooses his words from the native speech of our ancient fatherland; that the domestic tongue is the language of passion and persuasion, the foreign, of authority, or of rhetoric and debate; that we may not only frame single sentences, but speak for hours, without employing a single imported word; and finally, that we possess the entire volume

of Divine revelation in the truest, clearest, aptest form in which ingenuity has made it accessible to modern man, and yet with a vocabulary wherein, saving proper names and terms not in their nature translatable, scarce seven words in the hundred are derived from any foreign source."

This chapter closes by the general assertion, that, to an inquirer who understands Anglo-Saxon, Latin, and French, the study of English authors is a better and safer guide than any wider researches in foreign philologies.

Our readers will not be surprised that, when Mr. Marsh comes to the study of early English, he tells us that the complete history of the English language has never been undertaken. The truth is, that his own treatise is a far more efficient essay in that direction than any before attempted.

In the fifth Lecture, we have the first directions towards the study of the crystallization of our language into its present form. In the sixth, the author discusses the proportions of Saxon and of Latin words in various periods of our literature, and by different authors at the present time. Here he gives us the results of some very laborious numerations of his own, which will go far to correct popular impressions respecting the Latin and French proportions of our available English at the present day. This general impression is probably derived from some very scanty computations by Sharon Turner, who gave the percentage of Saxon words in fifteen short extracts from well-known English authors. It has been confirmed in its leading error by the fact that in any dictionary of English a much larger space is occupied by words of Latin origin than in any other book in the English language. The truth is, that our Saxon words represent the essentials of life, while our Latin words generally represent only the accessories; the Saxon words are therefore used in practice ten times, and perhaps a hundred times, as often as the Latin. Trench's rough proportion of the elements of English supposes that out of a hundred English words sixty would be Saxon, thirty would be Latin, five Greek, and the other five would be borrowed from all the other languages from which we have taken words. This may be true, but the sixty per cent of Saxon is used so much more freely than the forty per cent

from other sources, that, in three chapters of John's Gospel, it proves that ninety-six per cent of the words are of Saxon origin. Even in the Epistle to the Romans, where our translators have used so large a proportion of technical ecclesiastical words borrowed into English from the Continental theologians, ninety per cent of the words are still Saxon.

From Mr. Marsh's laborious comparisons, it appears that the best writers of the present day habitually employ a larger proportion of Anglo-Saxon words than the best writers of a hundred years ago. The highest Saxon percentage in writers of our own day is in a poem of Mrs. Browning's and one of Mr. Bryant's, where the proportion of Saxon is ninety-two per cent, — a proportion as high, it may be observed, as that of the English New Testament, which we are apt to recognize as the best English which has ever yet been written. Of Mrs. Browning's poem thus analyzed, of the "romance" words, which we are tempted to call foreigners, a quarter part were forced upon her by her effort to hold to the double rhymes for which, as Mr. Marsh shows, our language is so poorly adapted.

In all of these comparisons between our own use of Saxon and that of the authors of the last century, it is to be remembered that all the arts and sciences which have been developed since their time have been introducing new Latin words into familiar conversation. The steady gain of the Saxon proportion, in face of this accidental and temporary element, is all the more remarkable.

Four Lectures on the Vocabulary of the English Language follow those of which we have spoken. The curious store of information in these chapters cannot be abridged. We are disposed to think that much of it will take most readers by surprise. We do not remember any writer who has given such singular information about the personal habits of different men in the use of language. Let it be remembered that the vocabulary of English is among the most extensive now used by men, embracing nearly one hundred thousand words. How curious then is the range of selection, when we find that out of this immense magazine each man selects his own weapons by a peculiar law which is a part of the essential

difference between him and all other men. Thus with only eight hundred words one can express everything that is expressed in the entire vocabulary of the Italian opera. We confess that this must be considered as the very minimum of human intelligence ranked above the babble of incoherent idiocy. But, rising from this minimum, it seems that ordinary persons of fair intelligence do not use more than three or four thousand words. Even the all-knowing Milton only uses eight thousand, and Shakespeare himself, only fifteen thousand. Such facts certainly set the difficulty of learning the vocabulary of a new language much lower than the ordinary impression does. As to the choice of words, again, men differ as widely as in the number which they employ. "One regards a winter passage around Cape Horn as a very hazardous voyage, another considers it a peculiarly dangerous trip." Mr. Marsh in another place gives us some curious studies on the different professional vocabularies. His chapter on the new scientific nomenclature of Germany deserves the most careful attention of the physical philosophers of all countries.

His occasions have not led him to examine in much detail what we might call partisan vocabularies. Perhaps the proprieties of his position did not permit. But we are tempted to say, that to his studies of these personal dialects, kindred to what the mathematicians would call the "personal constant" of one observer or another, might be added the study of the dialects of sects or parties. Thus, our American politicians have a language of their own, popularly known as the spread-eagle variety. Even in very small parties of the Church we find similar peculiarities. Mr. Punch and other satirists have preserved for posterity the type of the "Bat-Owlet" section of English Churchmen, who are supposed by these humorists to have a good deal to say about lecterns, and trines, and St. Barnabas. What Agassiz studies in the forms of Alps, Lewes demonstrates on the field of his microscope; and so these follies of the movement of the great Church of England have their parallels in the baby-steps of her daughter in America. One sometimes hears here of a nice young lady who, instead of "going to meeting on Fast-day afternoon," as

her mother and grandmother did before her, tells us that she "attends vespers at the *Porrish Charch* on Maundy-Thurs-day." With such elegances, however, we have little or nothing to do. We speak of this denominational dialect rather to confess that the Unitarians of New England have often exhibited quite a choice type of it. It would be hard to show a necessary connection between Latin radicals in language and liberalism in religion. But such a connection exhibits itself empirically in a great deal of our literature. Our readers will remember men who would have never said, "Jesus went to Jerusalem," always preferring to say in this Unitarian dialect, "The author of our religion proceeded to the metropolis of his nation." It is in no pure "Unitarian" movement that we find such names as a "Home Board" or a "Bible House." The "operations" of our "denomination" are "conducted" by a "Unitarian Association," or on a smaller scale by a "Benevolent Fraternity." Its organs are as shy of the shorter Saxon names; they are the "Christian Examiner," the "Christian Inquirer," the "Christian Register," the "Monthly Journal of the Unitarian Association," or the "Religious Educator." It does not have a "tea-party at the May meetings" but a "collation at the Anniversaries," and the Anniversaries are not held in Boston, but in the "Jerusalem of our faith." Nor does this "denomination," which is too elegant to be called a "body," ever have a "yearly meeting in the Fall," though it always treats itself to an "Autumnal Convention;" fortunate, indeed, that it has not a "Vernal Consociation" or a "Hibernal Conference."

There is a temptation to argue from the choice of words in any such personal dialect something regarding the character of those who use it. But this is quite a mistake. As Mr. Marsh shows, an emancipated nation may inherit a degraded dialect. With a splendid eulogy on the Italy of to-day, he defends her people against Landor's charge of hopeless depravity borrowed from their inherited language.

"A bold and manly and generous and truthful people certainly would not choose to say 'umiliare una supplica,' to humiliate a supplication, for to present a memorial; to style the strength which awes, and the finesse which deceives, alike, 'onestà,' honesty or respecta-

bility; to speak of taking human life by poison, not as a crime, but simply as a mode of facilitating death, '*ajutare la morte*'; to employ '*pellegrinos*,' foreign, for admirable; to apply to a small garden and a cottage the title of '*un podere*,' a power; to call every house with a large door, '*un palazzo*,' a palace; a brass ear-ring, '*una gioja*,' a joy; a present of a bodkin, '*un regalo*,' a royal munificence; an alteration in a picture, '*un pentimenta*,' a repentance; a man of honor, '*un uomo di garbo*,' a well-dressed man; a lamb's fry, '*una cosa stupenda*,' a stupendous thing; or a message sent by his footman to his tailor, through a scullion, '*una ambasciata*,' an embassy."

But Mr. Marsh says here, very justly: —

"We must distinguish between cases where words expressive of great ideas, mighty truths, do not at all exist in a language, and those where, as in Italy, the pressure of external or accidental circumstances has compelled the disuse or misapplication of such, and the habitual employment of the baser part of the national vocabulary."

In Italy, he claims that the grand words are found, and that the grand thoughts exist also; that the spark slumbers, which a breath may fan into a flame. We regret that we cannot give more extracts from these chapters, whose range sweeps between the providential adaptation of the Hellenic dialect to the purposes of our religion, and suggestions regarding good taste in talk, really of the first value to all persons of character and intelligence.

There is a passage on the intentional wanton abuse of words by one class of writers in our own time, which deserves the serious attention of all moralists. Mr. Marsh justly says, that the ironical tone used by certain eminent authors in light literature has been more demoralizing than their open attacks upon religion, — than the fatuity with which some writers endow their good people, and the vice which they ascribe to all persons not idiots. He means that habit which speaks of a blackguardly boy as "a promising young gentleman," considering it a good joke thus to name him. Now it is true that in wit there is always a certain element of surprise. So one is surprised when he hears an abandoned villain spoken of as "our respectable friend." So far there is an element of wit in such language, and so far it raises a smile. But it is surprise and smile gained only by sacrifice of the language

itself. Whoever avails himself of this resource to startle or amuse a reader, does just so much towards degrading the vigor of our tongue to some such level as the instances we have just given from the Italian illustrate. A generation trained on such literature has a very different idea of the worth of the great word "gentleman," of the great idea of "honor," or of any other word which has thus been made to dance in its chains for the amusement of a mob. And we may add, indeed, as Mr. Marsh does, that the author who is thus willing to debase his own language, will himself fast lose the sterling distinctions which it should be his pride to maintain, but which it has been his habit to destroy.

Mr. Marsh restores the interjection to the place which it ought to occupy in the study of language, redeeming it from that dark corner behind the door to which it is exiled by most of the familiar grammarians. The treatment of this part of speech introduces the specific study of the noun, adjective, and verb.

It is of course impossible for us to illustrate the range of the Lectures, which in the most thorough manner discuss these parts of speech and the various grammatical inflections. We venture to ask our readers if they are prepared for the probable disappearance in our language of those inflections, which change the radical letter of the verb, in distinguishing between the present and the past tenses. Mr. Marsh says that unless this tendency is checked by an increased familiarity with our earlier literature, the "strong declensions and conjugations," as he calls them, in which the radical letter thus changes, will disappear altogether. Every new English dictionary diminishes the number of irregular verbs. Cobbett has gone so far as to propose to reject from the verb all the strong inflections, so that we should all say, "I readed yesterday," instead of, "I read yesterday." In the discussion of these inflections there come in some considerations, which are not familiar, as we suppose, to many readers, on the distinction between the effects produced by time on written languages and on those not written, and again on the effects produced by a civilized race in any way subjugating a barbarian race. On this subject Mr. Marsh says:—

"I have stated on a former occasion as a generally verified fact, that in the case of the subjugation of a civilized by a barbarian or a less numerous race, the native speech is adopted by the conquerors. How then would a given language probably be modified, by becoming the organ of communication between foreign masters or teachers and their subjects or pupils? We learn the vocabulary of another language readily, its grammatical inflections and phraseological combinations with infinite difficulty. While, therefore, conquerors and missionaries would soon acquire radicals enough to make themselves intelligible, they would slowly, if ever, master the complicated forms of a foreign speech. Their commanding position would give authority even to their imperfect dialect, and especially if they were, as at least the missionary almost universally would be, intellectually superior to the subject race, their mutilated inflections and foreign idioms, bearing the stamp of both physical and mental power and dignity, would become characteristic of elevated and refined speech, and sooner or later supersede the more complicated grammatical machinery of the native tongue. To these influences would be added others of a similar character, derived from the new commercial relations to which conquest usually gives birth, and thus, while the vocabulary might remain comparatively unchanged, the formal characteristics of the syntax might undergo a total revolution."

The study of the Icelandic language, which is that of a civilized people who have not been conquered or colonized in eight centuries, furnishes us some very curious facts in this connection.

With the nineteenth Lecture begins a very interesting discussion of the effect produced by printing upon the English language. In a thousand regards, of course, printing is of value to a language besides the invaluable gift which it is to literature. But, for all this, there is no doubt that the art of printing has injured style, precisely as horse-railroads break up good habits of walking. And any person who has lived in literary habits knows how unavailing is the most gallant stand by any author against the Procrustes rules of the printing-office to which his manuscript is entrusted. Mr. Marsh tells a good story of his own youthful ambition, when in a little poem in the *Whig Review* he sang of a "Grisly Ghost," to find it printed as if it had been the ghost of a grizzly bear. He tells us also, that the early English printers were men ignorant of

the English language, who set it up almost unknowing of its meaning, so entirely did they differ from the compositors now employed in our first-rate printing-offices ; among whom in our experience we have found a larger proportion of men understanding the niceties of English punctuation, orthography, and grammar, than we ever expect to find in either of the so-called learned professions. The utter misunderstanding, by Caxton's workmen, of the copy which they had to set, left its impression, it seems, on the whole English literature of the sixteenth century.

The universality of literature, which springs from the art of printing, produces some intellectual and moral effects, which descend low down in the constitution of society, and materially modify all literary composition. The imagination runs riot in any effort to compare the mental condition of an un-printing and a printing nation, either in separate men or in communities. Between a stereotyped people like the Chinese, and a plastic and versatile people like the old Greeks, how many points of diversity !

"Men are become more deeply imbued with the spirit of a common humanity, and know and participate in each other's intellectual condition. There is a remarkable proof of this in the perpetually repeated instances of concurrent mental action between unconnected individuals. Not only does almost every new mechanical contrivance originate with half a dozen different inventors at the same moment, but the same thing is true of literary creation. If you conceive a striking thought, a beautiful image, an apposite illustration, which you know to be original with yourself, and delay for a twelvemonth to vindicate your priority of claim by putting it on record, you will find a dozen scattered authors simultaneously uttering the same thing. There are in the human mind unfathomable depths, out of which gush unbidden the well-springs of poesy and of thought ; there are mines unilluminated even by the lamp of consciousness, where the intellect toils in silent, sleepless seclusion, and sends up, by invisible machinery, the ore of hidden veins to be smelted and refined in the light of open day. The press, which has done so much to reveal man to man, and thereby to promote the reciprocal action of each upon his fellow, has established new sympathies between even these mysterious abysses of our wonderful and fearful being, and thus contributed to bring about a oneness of character which unmistakably manifests itself in oneness of thought and oneness of speech."

In this connection, we are glad to find that we have Mr. Marsh's authority for our own view on the subject of copyright. We shall have occasion at some time to express that view at length in its relations to the question, so little understood, of an international copyright. Authors as a class have been so blinded by a mistaken idea of their own immediate interests, that Mr. Marsh is the first person who, so far as we remember, has gone beyond the most superficial statement of this matter. It was not in his place to discuss it at length, but he gives the following brief comment, which might be made the thesis for substantial consideration of the subject :—

“The law of copyright, though we have evidence in Martial and other writers that ancient authors were sometimes paid by booksellers for their works, is a result of the art of printing, and could be of little value without it. It has rendered no other service to literature than the very doubtful one of furnishing a pecuniary inducement to literary effort. The privilege of copyright was not originally granted as a reward and stimulus to authorship, but as a protection to the printer against a dangerous competition ; for it extended as well to editions of the classics as to contemporaneous productions, and of course the benefit to authors was but incidental. In fact, it is but lately that it could have operated at all as a reward to English writers, for until the last century the price of the copyright of original English works was in general hardly as much as the cost of the paper on which they were written. The Continental booksellers seem to have paid more liberally a century previous. At this day it may be doubted whether a single work of permanent value in the literature of any living language owes its existence to the protection afforded by law. Books which are composed only because they will sell are swiftly written, swiftly read, and, as they deserve, swiftly forgotten, while those which are destined to produce a deep and lasting impression scarcely win their way to popular favor and an authoritative position, until the privilege of copyright has expired by legal limitation.”

Why does one generation of men pronounce a word differently from the generation of their grandfathers? Why does the French Canadian say *mékier* where the French emigrant said *métier*? Mr. Marsh gives us this instance, and it is only one of a thousand curious hints afforded by the Canadian patois. How is it that, by the same change, the Hawaiian says

kanaka, with the guttural, while the Marquesan clings to the dental, and says *tenata*? Why does the old cockney in London say *weal* for *veal*, the old cockney of the North End in Boston say *winegar* for *vinegar*, and the Canadian peasant say *chewal* for *cheval*, all evidently obeying some law of decline, though the St. Regis Canadian was never in Salutation Alley, and the "Bostoneer" of Salutation Alley never heard Bow Bells? Why do all languages, under the wear and tear of time, like to soften their smooth mutes *p* and *t* into the softer sounds *b* and *d*, or even *f* and *th*? Why do vowels change, so that, if you have the latitude and longitude of a man's life, you can tell whether he will say *clerk* or *clark* before he opens his lips? A world of such questions come up as soon as we begin to study language in the philosophical way in which the Abbé taught Edmond Dantes language, in that fortunate imprisonment of the Chateau d'If;—whenever we abandon for that study the study of separate dialects, of which the little-boy schools are so fond. If we will sit at the feet of the mystics of language, and drink in the delicious absurdities of Fabre d'Olivet, for instance, or others of their school, we shall be taught that in the two sounds O and E are all wisdom,—and that by their knowledge of the law of the instrument, they can tell us *a priori* what the savage of Typee means, when, just before cutting them up to put them into his flesh-pot, he sings,

"Womar t'iti enata bacha epoku."

Outside of their treatises, and the celebrated romance which we have cited, we have never met with anybody who had caught this gift of tongues, and could, at sight, in any tongue talk or interpret. But a little way within their extreme claim, we are satisfied that there is a system for the understanding of the general principles of articulation, which can be made an immense help to the student of any of the modern dialects. Mr. Marsh's lecture on the powers of the different English letters, or, as we may almost say, on their history, is a thorough study which looks in this direction. There is a great deal of curious learning in it, which does much to illustrate the supposed anomalies both of our spelling and pronunciation. In

truth, of course, if one only knew enough of law, there is nowhere any anomaly. There is a law to tracing the streets of Boston, as much as to those of Philadelphia. Only very few people know the one, while almost everybody can guess at the other.

There follow three Lectures on Rhyme and subjects connected, as Rhythm, Assonance, and Alliteration. Here is an acknowledgment of the serious weight placed on poetry by the necessities of rhyme, in a language so little fitted for it as English. Many a poetaster has come as far as the recognition of this difficulty, echoing the wail of a young literary friend of ours, who, in his sixth year, sobbed out, "It is hard to make it in poetry;" and many more have recognized it, without daring to say so. Mr. Marsh goes a good deal further, and lets us into some of the secrets by which our best "makers" of to-day relieve the cadences growing every year more familiar to us, of "fountain and mountain," "length and strength," and the rest of the handful of English rhymes. *Handful* the proportion of rhyming words must be called, in proportion to the number of words which one would be glad to use in poetry. It seems that alliteration is, to the general ear, as favorite a figure as it was in those Norse tongues which required it of their bards. John Norris, near two hundred years ago, wrote,

"Like angels' visits, short and bright;"

but nobody remembered his line, excepting Robert Blair, who stole it fifty years after, and dressed it thus:—

"Visits

Like those of angels, short and far between."

The line still did not answer any other purpose than any of the rest of "The Grave" in which he buried it, till Campbell evoked it,—destroyed its sense by making it read,

"Like angel visits, *few* and far between," —

but in so doing gave it the alliterative quality which has made of it a proverb in the lips of everybody. We say "destroyed its sense," because visits which are few must be

far between, and for Campbell's own purpose the idea of *short*, which he threw out, was essential. There is something rather gratifying to our sense of the original resources of our language, when we learn from Mr. Marsh that we are coming back, unconsciously, to the forms of versification which gave their character to the sagas and ballads of our ancestry. He suggests some further advances in this way. There is no rhyme in the following stanzas. Can the reader make out the law of their harmony?

" Passing was the Moorish monarch
Through the city of Granada,
From the portal of Elvira
To the gate of Bivarambla :
Woe is me, Alhama !

" Letters came to say, Alhama
By the Christians now was holden.
On the ground he flung the letters,
Slew the messenger that bore them.
Woe is me, Alhama !

" Straightway from his mule alighting,
Then he leaps upon his charger,
Up the Zacatin he gallops,
Comes in haste to the Alhambra.
Woe is me, Alhama !

" Having entered the Alhambra,
On the instant gave he orders
That the trumpet should be sounded,
And the silver-throated cornets.
Woe is me, Alhama !"

In this connection, Mr. Marsh glories that it was not an American who set Homer to the tune of Yankee Doodle, but Professor Newman of an English University.

" Maiden Athene thereupon
Courage bestowed and enterprise,
Might in pre-eminence be seen
About his helmet and his shield
In fashion of autumnal star,
Blazeth abroad irradiant,
Such fire around his head she threw,
And urged him to the midmost ranks,

on Diomed Tydides
that he 'mid all the Argives
and earn excelling glory.
unweary fire she kindled,
which, when in ocean washed,
beyond the host of heaven :
and down his shoulders kindled,
where'er the rout was thickest."

The Lectures on Synonymes, Translation, and Idioms, lead naturally to a chapter of very great importance on the English Bible. Mr. Marsh demonstrates the proposition that the language of the Bible resembles that of popular use now as much as it ever did, — perhaps even more. The popular language has described an ellipse around the standard of the English of the Bible, and is indeed nearer now to the vital focus than it was in King James's day. From this central proposition Mr. Marsh proceeds to argue, in face of the immersion people, the "assiduously-cultivate-peace" people,* and the "change-your-mind" people,† first, that no general revision of King James's Version is desirable at the present day; second, that none is possible. It is very curious to see a competent student show how slight are the changes in the English vocabulary since the current version was introduced; and to us it is charming to find, that, of the handful of obsolete words counted by the English scholars in that version, thirty are still used by us here, — and that thus, in the most important exigency of our literature, America shows herself a conservative power in the English language, as she has, indeed, in some of the fundamentals of Saxon social institutions.

The closing chapter of the book, which discusses the influences of America upon the English language, is scholarly and manly. We have, on the whole, it seems, less ground for self-reproach than for self-gratulation in the influence which our nation has had on that tongue which, God be praised, is the mother-tongue of most of us. Nor is this one evidence more of our easy performance of the great office of self-gratulation. The wider the waters flow from the pure "well-head," the deeper the magnificent reservoir in which Providence permits them to clarify, the purer are they and the more vitalizing. The English language of to-day is truer English and stronger than it would have been had it been left to stagnate in the little corner of the world where it first bubbled into existence; if Carver and his men had become Spaniards on the shores

* "Assiduously cultivate peace." Mr. Dickinson's improvement on "Follow after peace."

† "Change your minds, and be baptized." Rev. Warren Sawyer's interpretation of John Baptist.

of the Orinoco, as some of them wanted to do ; if the colony of Jamestown had been absorbed by the savages, like the colony of Roanoke, and this continent had thus been left to draw its literature and its language from the island of New Manhattan, its religion and its politics from the Dutch trading company which had settled there. True, we speak English in latitudes far south of Cornwall. We have contracted, therefore, something of the distinct articulation of a southern climate. Again, we read more than any nation except the Japanese, ten times more than our cousins in England. A nation of readers pronounces more deliberately and clearly than a people like the English, of whom a large proportion cannot read at all. So we are said to drawl our words, and protract our vowels. But still, with due loyalty to the sources of our speech, we shall do our full share to keeping the English language in that fixed orbit in which it steadily revolves around its foci. The existence of the North American republic will prove no evil, but one safeguard more, to the preservation of the English tongue.

“ Favored, then, by the mighty elective affinities, the powerful harmonic attractions, which subsist between the Americans and the Englishmen as brothers of one blood, one speech, one faith, we may reasonably hope that the Anglican tongue on both sides of the Atlantic, as it grows in flexibility, comprehensiveness, expression, wealth, will also more and more clearly manifest the organic unity of its branches, and that national jealousies, material rivalries, narrow interests, will not disjoin and shatter that great instrument of social advancement, which God made one, as he made one the spirit of the nations that use it.”

ART. II. — ANALOGUES OF SATAN.

1. *Comparative Mythology*. By MAX MÜLLER, M. A. (Oxford Essays, 1856.) London: John W. Parker and Son.
2. *The Natural History of Man*. By JAMES COWLES PRICHARD, M. D. London: H. Ballière. 1855.
3. *The History of HERODOTUS*. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M. A. Vols. I. II. III. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859-1860.

To deny the existence of the Devil was, in times past of the Christian Church, almost as serious a matter as Atheism. During all the period of the Middle Age, it was deemed as necessary to a good Catholic to believe in Satan as to believe in God, and after the Reformation, in the amended system, this article of faith still retained its old prominence. The adherents of the new order, like those of the old, waged war against the Devil with argument, ridicule, and prayer, and, when these did not avail, with carnal weapons. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when Europe went eastward and westward, sowing in many lands the seeds of future nations, side by side with every germinating state she planted her familiar beliefs. The Portuguese colonist in Hindostan, clinging to his old faith, was haunted in his exile by the dark shadow of the Adversary. It went with Spanish adventurers to the Andes and to the unbroken Mississippi wilderness. In imagination, the fathers of New England saw the spectral shape hovering over their scattered settlements; a host of demons were his retinue, and every town and hamlet furnished its quota of witches and wizards, — recruits from the human race to his dreaded legions. To this day, faith in the Devil is a cardinal point in the creed of a vast majority of Christians. There is an intelligent class, however, with whom he has lost his ancient importance, and in some cases has been given up as a mere phantom of superstition, without any real existence. Science has robbed the Devil of many of the circumstances which once conspired to make him terrible. Sulphur and phosphorus were once articles of purely diabolical furniture, but chemistry applies them now to a thousand harmless uses. Geology has stolen his material hell, and dissipated the throng-

ing fiends with which superstition peopled the subterranean caverns. In their place we see beneficent natural forces, busy in building the earth up course upon course, — obedient masons of the Divine Architect. The Devil is now often named in jest ; once it was with a shiver of fear.

Plutarch, in the first century of the Christian era, asserted that dualism — or the belief in two personified principles, the one of good, the other of evil, waging perpetual warfare with one another — was the universal belief of antiquity. More recent scholars have followed him in this opinion, as Vossius in the seventeenth century, who advanced the theory that the descendants of Noah supposed two principles of equal or nearly equal power, — one good, the other evil, — and that this opinion, adopted by priests, sages, and legislators, was a part of every Pagan system. It has even been maintained, that every faith, whether ancient or modern, involves dualism more or less distinctly defined. On the other hand, such scholars as Cudworth and Bayle have denied that dualism was ever universally received, and their opinion is fully corroborated by the knowledge we now possess on this subject. It is certain, that neither in ancient nor modern times has the belief been universal, that there is an Evil Spirit opposed to a Good Spirit, to whom the suffering and sin of the world are to be ascribed. Such a spirit is Satan, as he stands in the Christian system. We propose, in this article, to examine the principal religions of the world with reference to this point, — to describe such analogues of the Devil as we may find, and, where no such doctrine appears, to give some account of the theories which supply its place.

In the conception of Satan the two essential elements are, — 1. That he is a being whose nature is evil entirely ; 2. That he is opposed to a superior being, whose nature is entirely good. It is plain that, in order to form this conception, some considerable advance in spiritual perception is required. It involves the power of discriminating between moral good and evil, and of appreciating that only pure goodness belongs to the character of the Supreme Being. Among such analogues of Satan as we shall find, the correspondence will be more or less close to the Christian idea, according to the spiritual refinement of the men who entertain the conceptions.

The term "Allophylian" is applied by Prichard to a vast family of nations, which in primeval times, probably from the table-lands of Central Asia, spread themselves far and wide over the surface of the earth, constituting "the primitive layer of population." From this Allophylian stock three forms of civilization were developed in ancient times, designated as Hamitism, Semitism, and the Japetic form. The various nations belonging to these three developed types, as well as those belonging to the primitive type, are marked by peculiarities of character, customs, language, and physical conformation, by means of which the ethnologist is able to distinguish them, and to refer each to its proper class. The Allophylian family, although displaced in many regions, is still spread over a vast portion of the earth's surface. All Northern and Eastern Asiatics, certain wild tribes in the north of Europe, and the Polynesians, are to be classed in this division. The American race, also, is believed to be of Allophylian origin, propagated from a branch which migrated eastward. Moreover, the researches of recent travellers, especially Livingstone, have brought to our knowledge close correspondences between the inhabitants of Central and Southern Africa and Allophylian nations, — tending to show that these wild tribes, though sprung from Hamitic stock, have deteriorated to the primitive barbarism, and in some cases sunk below it. Besides the three forms of civilization noticed as having arisen from the primitive barbarism, there have been other forms, as the Chinese and Japanese, and in the New World the Peruvian and Mexican. These nations, however, retain Allophylian characteristics, and may still be referred, for convenience' sake, to that type. A large proportion of Allophylian races are still in a savage condition, and in this class are included all the most debased tribes of human beings. The various superstitions of this vast family appear to be so many modifications of one primitive faith. Of this faith, the main features are a belief in a Supreme God, to whom it is unusual to offer worship, and a belief in demons, for the most part capricious and cruel, — sometimes the spirits of dead men, sometimes beings of a superior order, — to deprecate whose rage is the main object of savage rites. From some varieties of this rude faith the

idea of God has been pretty much obliterated, and only the demonology remains. In others of a higher class, this idea of the Supreme has become more prominent, and the darker figures grow less distinct. A general resemblance, however, may be traced among them. The rites of the Samoiede magician, of the Tartar Shaman, of the negro fetish-seer, and of the Indian medicine-man, are nearly the same,—a propitiation of demons with bloody sacrifices and dances. The priest excites himself to frenzy, and pretends or supposes himself to be possessed by the demon to which worship is being offered.

Sometimes an antagonism exists between some chief figure in the savage demonology and the dim Supreme in the background of the faith, or there may be some opposition among the subordinate spirits, bearing some resemblance to the warfare between good and evil in the Christian faith. These superstitions always betray the circumstances under which the life of their votaries is passed. To the Samoan-Islander the Devil is a sea-serpent, who upsets his canoe. The cannibal Fijian believes in an evil spirit, who roasts the wicked who are his prey, and has for his most marked characteristic an immense tooth reaching to the top of his head. We can easily understand why many tribes of Western Africa represent the Devil as white. The Greenlander places his evil genius in a luxurious court beneath the sea, where rampant seals guard the throne,—where walruses throng, detained by magic spells, and oil abounds in unlimited quantities. A tribe of Polynesians, several races in America, and the Khonds, a mountain people of India, make the Devil to be feminine. In the Western world Allophylian superstition appears at some time to have attained a high and pure development into a noble faith. There are numerous indications that the aboriginal race of America once existed in a state of refinement, from which it has very far degenerated. The wild Iroquois and Algonquin and the refined sage of the Eastern hemisphere held many points of belief in common. The original nobleness of these systems became overlaid with superstitious accretions gathered during the long-continued deterioration through which their votaries passed. When America was made known to Europeans, the practical faith of its savage tribes was of a

very degraded type, although in the midst of the rudeness could be dimly seen traces of an ancient purity. Even in the case of the partially civilized Mexicans, although from the background of their mythology loomed obscurely a very noble conception of the Supreme God, the foremost tenants of their Pantheon were terrible beings, whose attributes were only fiendish. To this general degradation, however, the Peruvians form an exception. Their faith, communicated by the mysterious Manco Capac, contained features of great beauty. To the Supreme God worship was paid, and every noble characteristic ascribed. To him was opposed "Kupay," a shadowy personification of sin, who was only recognized to be execrated. At the mention of his name, the subject of the Incas spat on the ground to express his abhorrence. In Kupay we may trace a plain counterpart to the refined conception of an evil spirit, as it exists among Christian poets and philosophers.

Of Allophylian nations in the Eastern hemisphere, the Chinese and Japanese were mentioned as having exchanged their primitive barbarism for a degree of civilization. Both these nations have, to a great extent, embraced Buddhism,—a foreign faith which we shall consider in another connection. In "Taoism"—which has some currency in China—and in "Confucianism" we have beliefs which must not be passed without notice. They belong to that class which are exceptions to the general rule of beliefs, in that they contain no dualism. Lao-t-se, the founder of Taoism, and Confucius were nearly contemporary, and flourished, probably, during parts of the sixth and fifth centuries before Christ. Lao-t-se, in the view of Rémusat, was a "genuine philosopher, a judicious moralist, an eloquent divine, a subtile metaphysician." His style, says the same writer, has all the majesty of Plato, and, indeed, in the doctrines of the Chinese sage there is a striking resemblance to Plato, as well as Pythagoras. His system, in its original form, was earnest, soaring, and contemplative. It recognized an evil character in earthly lusts, and aimed to kindle aspirations toward the eternal and unfading. "There is no greater sin," he wrote, "than unregulated desires, nor greater suffering than the pain which is its just pun-

ishment." He believed the soul to be an emanation from the Supreme, and that after death, unless it were wicked, it would be reunited with it. No discussion of the problem of evil is reported in our accounts of this system. Its close resemblance, so far as we know it, to certain Greek systems and those of India, may lead us to infer that its unknown features were also similar, and that in the original Taoism, as in these other beliefs, there was no counterpart of Satan. Into Taoism the aboriginal Shamanism of China has crept, giving rise to the most uncouth and disgusting modifications, so that from its first purity it has degenerated at last into a base superstition.

The most remarkable feature of Confucianism is its thoroughly practical character. The great teacher rarely employed himself in abstract speculation. He admitted the existence of evil, and by admirable moral precepts taught his followers to avoid it. With regard to its origin, he theorized but little. He seems to have thought that both evil and good had their root in the primary Essence or Creator. Physical evil was a shadow necessary to harmony and contrast. As to moral evil, an English writer quotes from Mencius, the disciple of Confucius, the following passage: "Men are universally inclined to virtue, just as water invariably flows downward." By way of qualification it is added: "Water, by beating, may be made to splash over your head, and by forcing, may be made to pass over a mountain; but who would ever say this was the natural tendency of water? It is because violence is applied to it. Thus men can be made vicious, but it is by no means their nature." Wrong-doers are therefore hardly allowed free-will. Man, then, cannot be the cause of moral evil. Neither is there any trace of a belief in an evil spirit, who was its cause. The nearest approach to dualism, in the system of Confucius, is in the theory of the "Yang" and the "Yin." These are the names of the two principles by the union of which the universe was created. The former was the perfect, the latter the imperfect. A different gender was assigned to each; and yet it does not appear that any personality was ascribed to them, and certainly they are not placed in opposition.

Of Hamitic nations, Egypt is the most interesting to us ; indeed, it is the only ancient nation of this type concerning which we have much knowledge. In the original mythology of Egypt, as will be presently shown, there is little trace of dualism. The evil spirit of the later system is of foreign origin. The traces of dualism in original Semitic faiths are scarcely more distinct. It does not appear in the remains of the Phœnician system, nor in the mythology of the Assyrians and Babylonians, — a scanty knowledge of which has been painfully gleaned from the inscriptions by Rawlinson and others. In Hebraism it exists, if at all, very obscurely, until borrowed from a Persian source. We may proceed at once, then, to the great family of nations, known variously as the Japetic, Aryan, or Indo-European race.

In our day, Comparative Philology has furnished History with a telescope, through which, piercing far beyond her former ken, she discerns the movements of the early world. In the mountains of Armenia, probably, once dwelt the people from which is descended the great Indo-European race. All records of this period, if any ever existed, have disappeared ; but Philology, collating their different languages and dialects, is able to trace unerringly a hundred scattered and varying nations back to a common origin, and even to reconstruct in some measure the ancient Aryan civilization. Our remote grandsires — ancestors at the same time of the Celt and Hindoo, the Persian and the Greek — dwelt together as shepherds and herdsmen, a peaceful nation. Their wealth lay mainly in their flocks and herds, to the animals of which they gave substantially the same names which we employ to-day. With the axe, the vigorous Aryan shepherd cleared the mountain-side, or, armed with the sword, faced enemies and wild beasts. He had the plough to till his clearing, and in a comfortable house, barred securely against the weather and hostile intrusion, the housewife at her loom spun the produce of the flocks. With the neighboring town or village they held easy communication by the high-road, or, if the shepherd chose, he could launch his boat on the stream, and make his way with the oar and rudder. They possessed a well-organized family life, a political structure somewhat elaborate, and

they distinguished the more prominent members of the state by conventional titles of honor. They exhibited a considerable degree of cultivation in their language and philosophy, and had social and religious institutions of an elevated type. The Indo-European race at length began to flow forth from its original seat, in different lines of migration. One proceeded eastward, and established a colony on the banks of the Indus; others went northward and westward. The Allophylian tribes, for the most part debased and given over to rude and sensual superstitions, everywhere gave way before the more vigorous and intelligent invaders. The Western and Northern emigrants finally possessed themselves of nearly the whole of Europe. Again, in the fifteenth century of our own era, the swelling Aryan tide broke its way across the Atlantic barrier, and in the New World is repeating the history of the Old, by sweeping from the face of the earth the Allophylian aborigines of America, as it exterminated kindred peoples in the East.

The fortunes of Indo-European nations have been various. Some have disappeared, some have sunk into deep barbarism; in some has been developed the civilization of Greece and Rome, of France and England. Of their religious systems, many are well understood; others, superseded by some foreign faith, are less thoroughly known; and part have passed away with the tribes who professed them, leaving no trace behind.

Beginning with the rudest of these systems, which are yet more refined than the Allophylian superstitions, we find in the Celtic mythology no trace of dualism. We know it chiefly through Roman reports, which are so meagre as to give us hardly any true idea concerning it. Of the faith of the Lithuanians we know more. They long resisted the encroachments of Christianity and civilization, but succumbed at last to the prowess of the Teutonic knights. Their language has endured to this day, and Müller asserts the dialect of the Lithuanian recruit at Berlin to be more like the Sanscrit of the Vedas, than French is like Italian. The old Lithuanian mythology bears plain traces of its Eastern origin. They worshipped a Triad, the first God of which presided over the firmament and thunder. Before his sacred oak the eternal fire was kept

burning. "Pikollos," the third God, whose symbol was three skulls, was the cause of death and all evil. The rude painters and poets of the forest represented him as a pale and gray-bearded old man.

A more elaborate system was that of the Wends and the Slavonians, which was professed in its purest form on the Isle of Rügen and the coasts of the Baltic. Here a more refined dualism is traceable, in which the good principle was identified with light, the evil with darkness. To the first, "the White God," was opposed a wicked spirit known as "Zernebog," represented under the figure of a lion, to whom appeasing sacrifices were offered. In the background of this system looms the almost ever-present shadow of a great Supreme God, — dim, unapproachable, and unworshipped.

We have full knowledge of the Scandinavian mythology. It bears an Eastern birth-mark, but is pervaded everywhere with the rude and vigorous spirit of the race which professed it. The sublime "All-father" yields the foreground, as usual, in this case to a group of fantastic divinities, restless and enterprising as their Sea-king worshippers. The contest between the two principles is a prominent feature of the system, and involves every member of the pantheon. Of the regular Gods, or Aesir, Odin was the chief, to whom was ascribed every virtue of which the Norsemen had an idea. This rude, but in the main noble personage, with his subordinates, is opposed by the evil race of frost-giants, who people a dismal region bordering upon the home of the Gods. Chief of this evil race is "Utgardelok," who, however, plays a much less conspicuous part than "Loki." Loki and Utgardelok were probably at first identical, but in the Norse system, as we know it, the conceptions are sharply distinguished, and sometimes even opposed. Loki is the most busy and prominent actor in the mythology. Though classed among the Aesir, he is yet the son of a frost-giant, and the cause of evil. How near was his resemblance to the Devil may be inferred from the fact, that the converted Norsemen transferred the name Loki to the evil spirit of their new faith. The numerous legends of this grotesque spirit are pervaded with what may be the *naïveté* of a simple race, or perhaps a grim humor. He is

handsome, agile, and crafty, — a scandal to the Gods, and the traducer of Gods and men. He delights in bringing his fellow-Aesir into awkward positions, and then extricating them by his superior skill. When the Aesir are dispirited, Loki, like a jester, is sent for to perform ludicrous antics. He has many children, to some of whom he stands as father, to others as mother. He was believed to scatter evil as a sower scatters grain; and in Jutland, when the peasants saw in the air a tremulous, wavy motion, they said Loki was sowing his oats. In one of his legends, which may serve as a specimen, he cuts off the beautiful hair of Sif, the wife of the god Thor. Thor threatens to break all his bones if he does not make good her loss with hair of gold. This Loki manages to accomplish, and then in his pride wagers his head with the dwarf Brock that he cannot make anything so precious. Brock tries and succeeds, but Loki refuses to surrender his head, and slips away. When captured, after long pursuit, he overcomes his captors by his eloquence, and escapes with no heavier penalty than having his mouth sewed up. After a variety of adventures, his career at last comes to a close. Through his wiles Balder is slain, the favorite of the Gods. Loki accomplishes many dexterous escapes, but is captured at length disguised as a salmon. He is bound to a rock, and a venomous snake placed above his head, whose poison drips toward his face. By his side Sigyn,* his spouse, watches continually, and interposes a cup to catch the drops as they fall. When the cup is full she turns to empty it, and meanwhile the venom drips upon his face, which makes him shake the earth in his agony. Thus will he lie bound until Ragnarok, — the destruction of the world. In this restless and fantastic conception we may discern many correspondences to the dark figure so prominent in the faith of the descendants of the Norsemen.

To the Greeks, Homer and Hesiod occupied a relation similar to that in which the Bible stands to Christendom. Throughout Grecian history, we may observe an anxiety in most of the wiser men to reconcile speculations and discoveries with these venerated documents.

* It seems a piece of injustice, that from the name of this faithful wife we should derive our English term *sin*.

In the case of this Hellenic scripture, however, it was only the ignorant who ascribed to it much authority. The philosophy of Greece, in its earlier period, was full of latent scepticism, and sometimes, in some vehement Xenophanes, denounced the popular faith in bitter terms. Plutarch attributes a belief in dualism to all the more prominent of the Greek sages, but certainly without reason, if we are to understand by dualism two antagonistic personal principles. The Pythagoreans, indeed, asserted a principle of resistance in the universe, and ascribed to it falsehood and deceit; but they referred both this and an opposite principle back to one essence, the ground of all things. It does not appear that personality was attributed to either. The Ionians believed in a certain living energy, which produced from itself all mundane phenomena, called by one fire, by another air, by another water. Sorrow and Vice, as well as Joy and Virtue, had their root in this. Plato is nowhere more obscure than in treating of the origin of evil. Most generally it appears to be referred to "original matter," the basis of the sensible world. Plato employs various expressions to designate this basis. It is "the nurse," "the receptacle," sometimes simply *τόδε*, or *τὸυτο*, sometimes "the other" (*θάτερον*). It is not earth, air, fire, or water, but, according to the *Timæus*, "an invisible *species* (*εἶδος*), a formless, universal receiver, which in the most obscure way receives the immanence of the intelligible." From this "matter" the divine intelligence shaped the universe. Plato, however, speaks with great vacillation of the relation between this "Corporeal" and the "Intelligent." At one time the former is a hinderance to the Intelligent, again it is its servile instrument; now it is a concurrent cause of good, now the ground of all evil; now purely negative, and, again, the positive substratum which supports all higher intellectual development. The "*Phædrus*" contains a splendid allegory, in which Plato describes the anterior state of the soul, and its fall, through which it became involved in the miseries of the earthly lot; but no evil spirit is mentioned as the agent of the fall. In the "*Laws*," indeed, Plato appears to speak of an "evil soul," as elsewhere, perhaps; but the expression is probably figurative, and ought

not to be understood as indicating a belief, on his part, in an antagonistic wicked spirit. Aristotle, in contrast with Plato's vagueness, distinguishes and clearly opposes the Corporeal and the Forming principles, but does not make the former personal. The Stoics, although striving to reconcile the existence of evil with a supreme and good God, were driven to admit that "Necessity" had much to do with the ordering of the world; and at length, among the later Stoics, we find Seneca believing that God has no power to change matter, and that this was the cause of evil. Nowhere among the Greek sages, until a late period, shall we find a counterpart of Satan. Empedocles, indeed, distinguished the "demons" of the Hesiodic mythology into beneficent and maleficent classes, and this distinction was afterwards adopted by Plato, Chrysippus, and others; but the two classes of demons occupied no definite position of antagonism to any Supreme Power, — indeed, they were, the bad as well as the good, ministers of that Power. When at last, at a late date, a personal evil principle, employed in thwarting the good, does appear, it is no native growth, but an exotic from the East.

The æsthetic faculty with the Greeks was developed to the highest degree. Their temples and statues have never been surpassed, and Art returns again and again to copy what she cannot excel. But though in her poets and artists the sense of beauty was so refined, if we class them with regard to their spiritual perceptions we must place them in a low grade. Superior power, not moral excellence, is the characteristic of their Deities, and in their religion there are scarcely any traces of the moral antagonism which the systems of other enlightened nations contain. In their mythology, it is only after the most careful search that any such warfare can be found as the opposition between Satan and Deity. The Furies who punished the wicked are the servants of the Gods. Plato and Persephone, though chief in the infernal regions, are honored companions of the Olympian Deities. Prometheus, the antagonist of Zeus, is the friend and benefactor of man. The nature of Hecate and the Lamiæ is rather spectral or goblin-like than diabolical. Zeus is represented as the dispenser of physical evil as well as good. In a beautiful Hesiodic fable, the

whole train of human miseries is made to flow from Pandora. Can we find in her a counterpart of Satan? In poems of a late date, indeed, Pandora is drawn as a fearful being, with many diabolical features; but in the original myth she is the beautiful masterpiece of heavenly skill, employed by the Gods themselves as an engine of mischief. We must not leave the subject without noticing the recent theory of Mr. Gladstone. In the view of this accomplished scholar, the Homeric mythology is partly a development of certain ancient traditions, true, and transmitted from some primeval epoch. Among these traditions is that of the "Evil One," which originally had the following forms: — 1. A rebellion of great angels and powers against the Supreme Being, the defeat of the rebels, and their being cast into the abyss. 2. The going forth of a power who tempts men to their destruction. In Homer this tradition is just discernible, modified as follows. The idea of the rebellion appears in several detached and conflicting forms. The story of the Titans is its most pointed representation. The legend of Otus and Ephialtes is another fragment; also that of the giants, ruled over and afterwards exterminated by Eurymedon for insolence towards the Gods. Still another fragment appears in the myth of Neptune heading a rebellion against Zeus. From these antagonisms, the moral element in the original idea has entirely disappeared. The spiritual perceptions of the Greek had become so far obscured, that goodness had been eliminated from the conception of the Supreme, until the deities were morally on a lower level than the heroes. The negation of the divine goodness also had ceased to be interesting or intelligible. The second idea, the more subtle one, of an influence acting directly upon the spirit of man, and aiming a blow at the Deity through his creatures, can also be indistinctly traced. In *Ἄττη* we have the evil influence acting by deceit. The best English rendering of Ate is "the temptress." She wishes and suggests all evil to mortals, but does not seem to have the power of injuring men except through their own volition. Vigorous and nimble, she ranges over the whole earth for mischief. She even has the power of tempting Deity, for at the birth of Heracles she induces Zeus to take an oath, by which, through the craft of

Hera, the power intended for Heracles is transferred to Eurystheus. Zeus hurls her from Olympus, and thenceforward she can only tempt men. Among the dispersed fragments of the tradition of the Evil One in Homer, Ate, in Gladstone's view, comes nearest to presenting a general outline.

The Pantheon of Rome, empty of all original conceptions, but finding room within its elastic pale for the gods of all other systems, was peopled with a numerous company of divinities derived from Etruria, Latium, and Greece, and in later times from Egypt and the East. Some of the adopted systems lost all independent existence, and only survived as component parts in the ever-swelling mythology of the world's mistress. Such were the systems of the old Italian states, once rivals of Rome, but absorbed one by one in her spreading greatness. Of such derivation was the god "Vejovis," distinguished by Aulus Gellius from Jupiter, and held to be a hurtful God, whose worship was mere deprecation. The God "Anxurus" was of the same origin, and sometimes identified with him. Temples were also erected, and worship paid, to various vices and evil passions. With the introduction of Oriental ideas a more and more distinct dualism came to prevail, until at length the Christian Church rose upon the ruins of the Pagan temple.

Thus far we have been occupied with the Western branch of the great Indo-European family. The Eastern branch of the Aryans, as was stated, formed a colony on the Indus, and at length—certainly as early as the fifteenth century before Christ—again becomes restless. In the faint light of tradition, we may behold the progenitors of the modern Hindoos, with martial fire in their breasts and chanting the hymns of the Vedas, descending with resistless sweep into the Indian peninsula, and exterminating or driving into the mountains the numerous Allophylian tribes. From this race sprung the systems of Brahminism and Buddhism. These systems are still far from being understood. They originated among a people possessing singular taste and ability for metaphysical speculation, and are to the last degree complicated and obscure. Moreover, both systems since their origin have undergone great modification. Buddhism in particular, expelled from

India, but still flourishing in Ceylon and in Northern and Eastern Asia, has been so far colored by the superstitions of the nations by which it has been professed, that often its first complexion has been entirely overlaid and lost. It is one thing to the Chinese Bonze,—quite another thing to the Lamas of Thibet. The priest of the Nepaulese faith differs from both, and all three would feel themselves lost in a temple of Ceylon. So far, however, as we can judge, whatever doubt may exist as to many points of these Eastern systems, it is vain to search among them for a counterpart of Satan. The basis of all the Indian systems is, that the visible world and all in it is but a transient emanation from an underlying essence, without real or permanent existence. However the divisions and subdivisions of Eastern faiths may vary, here at least they appear to agree; and also in this other point, that this mortal life is a condition of misery from which it is desirable to escape. The end proposed by all is the liberation of the soul from its evils into “Nirvana,” a state of unconsciousness and virtual annihilation. As to the source of this misery, according to the “Vedantists,” or more orthodox sect among the Hindoos, “Every one has his lot according to his merits in a previous stage of the universe, which is eternal and had no beginning in time.” The Vedantist labors to reconcile his theory of the Divine goodness with the existence of evil in the world as follows. He assumes, according to Colebrooke, “the past eternity of the universe, and the infinite renewal of worlds, into which every individual being has brought the predisposition contracted by him in earlier states, and so retrospectively without beginning or limit.” The Buddhists also entertain the same theory, that evil is the result of sin in a former stage of existence. The following solution of the problem also appears among the Indian sages,—that the perfect state is one of complete quiescence. This was the original condition of the Deity. In creation, however, he was forced to forsake this state for one of activity, which is evil. Hence all creation is evil, and filled with misery and sin. The “Sankya” philosopher teaches that the underlying essence of the universe is *Pracriti*,—a fluid of most subtle, irresoluble character, but material. From this even the world of spirit and intelligence

was developed. This element, in giving rise to the Universe, operates by three principles, "goodness," "foulness," and "darkness." In the world of human beings, "foulness" is the predominating quality, and hence pain and vice.

To the faith of the Vedas and of Buddhism cumbrous mythologies have been attached. Popular Brahminism, at first sight, seems to be nothing but the terrible dream of debased imaginations. Of the three hundred and thirty million gods which the Hindoo pantheon is said to contain, a large number appear to be possessed of the most diabolical characteristics; yet, if we examine carefully, we shall find nothing corresponding with the essential elements in the conception of Satan. Siva the destroyer is at the same time the preserver. The goblin host of "Rakshasas," "Yakshas," and "Bhutas" are the children and ministers of the superior gods. A resemblance has been thought to exist between the fabled warfare of the Sooras and Assooras and the Miltonic combat between Satan and the powers of light; but the correspondence vanishes on examination. In the Hindoo myth, the combatants on both sides are sprung from a subordinate deity, and stand in equal favor with him. Bali, chief of the Assooras, the alleged counterpart of Satan, excites the enmity of certain subordinate deities by his extreme piety and virtue. When at length Bali is overcome and slain, so great is his purity, that from the parts of his body the various gems are derived. His eyes become sapphires and amethysts, his blood rubies, his marrow emeralds, the flesh crystal, the tongue coral, the teeth pearls. His soul is transferred to Paradise, and the poet adds, that thus will good men be rewarded for their virtue.

The corruption which Buddhism has undergone is greater even than that of Braminism. Upon the noble faith which the venerable Sakya Muni put forth in the gazelle grove near Benares, has been grafted the most complete and systematic demonology on the face of the earth. Earth, air, and sea are haunted by swarms of uncouth and hideous shapes. Yet Buddhist sages especially instruct their pupils, if the question is asked, "Is any powerful spirit the cause of evil?" to answer in the negative, that evil is due solely to the mischievous and corrupted temper of man. The demons of Buddhism are the

progeny and servants of the superior gods, or if they are ever represented otherwise, they are corruptions caught from the Allophylian superstitions which Buddhism superseded.

We now come to that part of our subject most interesting to the Christian inquirer. While one branch of the Aryan colony on the banks of the Indus advanced southward with conquering march, another branch, it is supposed, went back upon the footsteps of their ancestors, to found the great power of the Medes and Persians. Certain ancient Persian poems preserve the tradition of this exodus. The Zend and Sanscrit languages both contain indications of a violent religious feud existing between the two divisions of the Aryan colony. Sir Henry Rawlinson believes that this very heresy of dualism may have been the cause of the rupture. Here, probably, then was the Devil born; the valley of the Indus was his cradle, and the black shadow of the Himalayas hung above it, like a type of the gloomy presence which was henceforth to darken the faith of many nations. In moral sensibility, perhaps no nation of the ancient world is so conspicuous as the Persian. Good and evil among them were discriminated with a precision almost Christian. Nor did they shine in noble theory alone, for in practice Persia was one of the least compromising, if not indeed the most truthful, nation of antiquity. Their religion bears evidences of this moral and spiritual elevation. It abounds in rich and splendid poetry, and, what is far higher, its tone is morally pure to a remarkable degree. We have some means of judging of this faith in its most ancient form. The elemental worship which is found combined with it when it emerges at last into full historic light, is probably of Allophylian origin, a foreign ritual engrafted on the simple dualism of the primitive faith. The following is an outline of the developed form of this faith, as it was professed during the period of the ancient glory of Persia. Underlying the universe was one Supreme Intelligence, from whom emanated primeval light. This omnipotent and all-embracing conception was but dimly recognized, and some scholars contend it does not appear at all in the Persian system until a later date. A more prominent conception was Ormuzd, the god

of the firmanent, and the personified principle of goodness and truth. Ormuzd created a vast hierarchy of angels, at the head of which he established himself. Ahriman, the prince of darkness, was not originally of an evil nature, but, becoming jealous of the first-born, was forced to flee to the realm of shadows. Between the two principal spirits stood as mediator a subordinate one, Mithras. Ahriman at length returned to the regions of light, and, again becoming envious, resolved to oppose Ormuzd at every point. He placed himself, therefore, at the head of a hierarchy of evil angels, with grades corresponding to those in the kingdom of Ormuzd, so that the good spirit might be everywhere thwarted. At length Ormuzd and Ahriman in conjunction formed the material world. The good spirit created a bull, to be the symbol of all life upon earth. Ahriman slew him, and from his flesh were derived the numerous animals and plants, and at length the first human pair. To these free-will was given, and celestial happiness promised as the reward of obedience to Ormuzd. Through the wiles of the evil spirit, however, they were seduced, and Ahriman gained the ascendancy upon earth.

Modified forms of this venerable faith still exist among the Yezidis in Asiatic Turkey, and the Parsees of Western India. In the hands of the former, it has become devil-worship, but not of a revolting type. The Yezidis are described as a brave, kind, and industrious race, though made crafty by oppression. They recognize the existence of a supreme and good being, but do not offer him worship. The evil spirit they hold in the deepest awe, never mentioning his name, and carefully abstaining even from words which have a similar sound. They believe him to be chief of the angelic host, and that he is now suffering punishment for rebellion, but he is still powerful, and will some day be restored. He must be conciliated, for now he can inflict evil, and some day will grant benefits.

The Parsees of India are a most interesting race, as being probably, outside the Christian world, the most elevated people on the face of the globe. In the Persian system as professed among them, the conception of Ormuzd has become developed into the Supreme God, against whose sway rebelled the subordinate spirit Ahriman. A list of the virtues inculcated by

this faith will indicate the moral elevation of its votaries. They are obedience, industry, hospitality, alms-deeds, chastity, and truthfulness. The conception of Ahriman is almost identical with the evil spirit of the Christian system. As to moral evil, Satan is hardly darker than his Parsee analogue, and the conceptions of the Supreme in both systems are almost parallel in glory and excellence.

The Persian Ahriman was adopted into the later religion and philosophy of Greece and Rome; he appears in the Egyptian system, and, becoming established in Judaism, in a modified form, was transferred to Christianity and Mohammedanism, and has been to this day a most prominent and active figure in the belief of millions of men.

When the key to the hieroglyphics of Egypt was discovered, it was expected we should soon have the most thorough knowledge concerning her mysterious people; but these anticipations have not been fully realized. In regard to their religion, although we may study the grotesque forms of their gods, and the minutest details of their elaborate ritual, the ideas which underlie the symbols and sacrifices are but obscurely known. While, in general, Egyptian institutions were unchanging, the religion appears to have undergone repeated metamorphoses. The belief has prevailed that a dualism existed in the Egyptian system, from early times, similar to that in the faith of nations farther east. Plutarch has been the chief authority for this opinion; but, though the Greek sage may have given in the main a true report of the system as it existed in his time, no such clearly-defined dualism as he describes was contained in the ancient faith. Scholars even who wrote before the modern discoveries had become convinced of this, as Cudworth, who regards Typhon, the alleged Satan of Egypt, as not a "substantial evil principle," but simply "a type of the confusion and hurly-burly of the world, which, however, is not without divine providence." Jablonski, once a high authority, although following Plutarch, declares he can find no reason in the genuine fables of Egypt for representing Typhon as such an evil and horrid monster. Sir Gardner Wilkinson believes it was not until a change produced probably by Asiatic influence, that dualism appeared distinctly in the Egyptian belief.

Avoiding the complications of this difficult subject, it seems plain that, throughout the historic period, the Osiride group of deities was worshipped everywhere throughout Egypt. The more enlightened Egyptians were probably pantheists; but they either concealed their belief, or accommodated it to the popular faith by making the numerous deities personified attributes of the Supreme. Before the period of Asiatic influence, indeed, we may trace a conception identified with sin in the snake-giant, "Aphophis," but this figure was distinct from Typhon, and had little prominence. Typhon was the brother of Osiris, and at first all honor and worship were paid to him as a deity. Cudworth is right, probably, in making him represent "the confusion and hurly-burly of the world," under divine ordination. No opposition existed between him and Osiris, although the latter was the type of harmony and order. So nearly equal were these divinities in the esteem of their worshippers, that their names were sometimes interchanged, and Typhon, in company with the other gods, is represented pouring from a vase the symbols of life and power over a king. But in the sixth century before Christ comes Cambyses, with his host. Gradually, in the old mythology, the names and forms of the ancient gods, like vessels pretty much emptied of their former meaning, are refilled with the new Persian wine. Osiris, raised to a position of unrivalled majesty, becomes "the enlightened," "the fructifier,"—"light of the world" and "lord of life." He gathers up into himself all the choicer attributes of the other male divinities, while Isis, his feminine counterpart, in like manner absorbs the goddesses. Typhon, with his spouse Nephthys, is placed at last in direct antagonism to the benevolent divinities. He becomes combined with Aphophis, the snake-giant, and in the guise of a serpent is represented on the monuments as crushed by Osiris, or Horus, his child and champion. He is held to be the author of all disease, impotence, and death, and animals especially hated are made sacred to him. In the last form of the Osirian myth, Osiris is identified with the fertilizing Nile, and Isis with the land of Egypt. Typhon is the sea, which swallows up the life-giving river, or, more commonly, the burning pestilential wind from the desert; while Nephthys, becoming the desert itself, com-

pletes the dark antagonism, which is at last the central idea of the popular religion. On certain festival days Typhon was ridiculed and execrated. His symbol was a human form surmounted by the head of some fabulous animal. He became an utter outcast from the company of gods, his statues were broken, his images erased from the temple walls, and he stands forth in the end in the darkest colors, as the malignant enemy of gods and men.

We have no space to discuss at length the debated question of the Oriental derivation of the Jewish Satan.* In ancient Hebraism only the faintest traces, if any, are to be discerned of a belief in the Evil One. The doctrine of the Devil began to appear near the time of the Captivity at Babylon, and at the time of Christ had become a very prominent feature of the Jewish faith. From being the antagonist of a co-ordinate spirit, Ahriman becomes, when transferred to Judaism, the foe of the Supreme Jehovah. "Satan" and "Diabolos," which originally bore a general signification, became in time specific terms, applicable only to the Evil One, and employed as his usual designations. The Gentile gods were held to be either Satan himself or some of his subordinate demons; hence the appellations of Syrian deities are often applied to him as well as his ordinary titles.

We have traced in various religious systems conceptions bearing a resemblance to the Devil. Although every faith does not contain an analogue of Satan, we have seen that some such theory is yet the most usual solution of the problem of evil. In dark procession pass a hundred uncouth phantoms from savage superstitions, together with the Kupays and Ahrimans, the Typhons and Lokis, of more elevated beliefs. To this list we must add the name of "Eblis," the gloomy Devil of Mohammedanism, which, however, is only the Satan of Christianity transferred and newly designated.

In the Christian world the conception of the Devil appears in innumerable shapes, in poems, in the creeds of different sects, in the superstitions of various ages and races, in the speculations of philosophers. Every mind, indeed, gives him

* See *Christian Examiner*, Vol. LXVI. No. 213.

a peculiar coloring, according to its bent and degree of development. To the ignorant peasant, or the wild proselyte from barbarism, he is rude as the bad Manito. To the cultivated sage he is a refined and subtle spirit. The Celt, baptized into Christianity, but followed and haunted by phantoms from his forsaken creed, blends Druidic superstitions with the black spirit of his new faith. The converted Polynesian, still clinging to wild traditions, establishes this phantom of Eastern birth as the hero of many a heathen legend. The Oriental idea becomes amalgamated with the malignant sprites and giants of the old German mythology. With increasing refinement of intellect and spirit, there comes a keener discrimination between the good and the bad. More and more lurid and definite upon the image gather the lights of moral evil. He flits from century to century, now haunting the cell of the scared monk, now fighting with the bold reformer, until at length he is taken up by master minds, and Milton celebrates his baleful glory at the head of innumerable shadowy minions, and among the conceptions of a still more subtle brain looms the mocking spectre Mephistopheles.

ART. III. — TEMPORAL POWER OF THE POPES.

1. *Correspondence between Napoleon III. and Pope Pius IX.*
2. *Correspondence between Victor Emanuel II. and Pope Pius IX.*
3. *L'Encyclique et quelques Appréciations dont elle a été l'Object. — Lettre de l'Evêque de Nîmes au Clergé de son Diocèse.* Nîmes: A. Giraud. 1860.
4. *Le Pape et Point de Congrès.* Par J. BLANC. Montpellier: Dentu. 1860.
5. SS. D. N. PII. PP. IX. *Contra S. R. Ecclesiæ, ejusdemque Temporalis Potestatis Adversarios Bulla Excommunicationis.* Romæ. MDCCCLX.

FROM the beginning of this year down to this day, more than three hundred books and pamphlets have been published, all more or less bearing on the question of the tem-

poral power of the Pope; to which number if we add the five or six hundred that followed close on the publication of About's work, we have the enormous amount of nearly one thousand books and tracts on the same subject since we called to it the attention of our readers less than a year ago. Nor, strange as it may seem, has the *Roman Question* advanced a single step towards its solution. The contending parties never meet each other, nor, indeed, can they meet, on a common ground, owing to the fact that the principles they start from are reciprocally rejected as false by their opponents. The advocates of the Church, for instance, insist on the necessity of the temporal power; but that necessity is strongly denied by the liberal party. The friends of the Pope profess to believe that he *must* have a state of his own, — where he *must* be as free and absolute as ever prince was, — which state *must* be precisely in the midst of Italy, with Rome for its capital. The friends of Italy are unable to see why and how such things *must* be. On the contrary, they contend that the Church has suffered from being encumbered by temporal dominion; they affirm that the spiritual authority has been impaired and totally destroyed, from the moment it was united in the same person with temporal power. Again, the former deny any right of the people to choose their own rulers, or even to take any concern in political and civil affairs; whilst the latter acknowledge that right as the only source of legitimate authority, and discard the so-called doctrine of the divine right of princes. Each party, in its own way, produces arguments which cannot be answered by the other, so that the settlement of the question must be left to events alone.

All nationality, all creeds, and all classes of people are represented in these politico-theological discussions, though, as it was to be expected, by far the larger number of the champions on either side are of the Roman Catholic persuasion. We do not, of course, pretend to have read them all. We will so far abate our claim to omniscience as to confess that of many we have only seen the names advertised. Others we began to read, but had no patience to go on, so intolerant and so bad was the spirit in which they were written. Several scores, on both sides, we have read with pleasure, on account

of the ability with which the subject is treated, and the forbearance evinced by their authors towards their respective opponents. We have felt, however, and still feel grieved, deeply grieved, in finding that the works written in behalf of the Church, especially those written by bishops and other ecclesiastics, cannot be reckoned among those of which we say this. An utter disregard of historical truth, a supreme contempt for liberal principles as well as for the rights of man, a revolting self-conceit, as if of persons who have just found the infallibility lost by the Pope, are the distinctive characteristics of such productions. Their authors seem to have forgotten the beautiful saying of Fénelon in answer to certain arguments of Bossuet: "My friend, insults are no arguments." These masters of Israel have yet to learn that charity suffereth long, is not puffed up, and doth not behave itself unseemly. We hope that among the works we have not read there may be many dictated by a more Christian spirit, not for the sake of the cause they support, but for the honor of the ministry in which all Christendom is interested. Even a bad cause does not gain anything by untruthfulness and uncharitableness; and that of the Pope, though one of the very worst, might have endured a little longer, had not its advocates ruined it by their writings.

Prominent among the defences of the Pope for the characteristics above mentioned, two letters of Pope Pius IX. must be enumerated. We do not speak of his *Encyclica* to the Archbishops and Bishops all over the world. He may be justified for writing it, on the ground of his being the head of the Church, and therefore obliged to say something mournful in losing an important part of the state to which that same Church claims to have inalienable, everlasting, divine rights. "Such events cannot be brought about by a just and wise Providence, that intends to humble the proud and exalt the humble. They are necessarily the work of a handful of wicked men, an insignificant *faction*, which will be blown away after a short while by the breath of divine anger." This is the assertion of that *Encyclica*, and we have no desire to say anything about it. God reigns! and He will judge the cause of the poor and oppressed against the mighty that oppresses

them in his name. On that letter we offer no criticism. The letters we speak of were written in answer to the respectful representations of the Emperor of France and the King of Northern Italy. In them, not only are facts denied that are known and admitted by all parties, but facts are asserted which are equally known to have been invented by the enemies of the liberal cause in Italy. State papers and other historical documents are never taken notice of when the temporal interests of the Roman See are concerned. The charges that are made against the papal government and its officers are merely answered with recriminations, unbecoming any man who has any sense of self-respect, not to say of him who claims to represent the Deity on earth. The rights and the demands of the Italians are sneered at, and flatly denied; and all those who stand by them, no matter what their character or position is, high and low, are threatened with Divine vengeance. We feel that we are hearing a peevish little boy, who is not able to get back his toys, and tries to frighten his playmate by telling him, "My mother will whip you." Who can read the Pope's reply to King Victor Emanuel's letter without being both pained and disgusted at the revolting spectacle of an old man, occupying such a position, who heaps insult upon insult on the head of one of the noblest princes, merely because he refuses to be a traitor to his own country,—because he does everything in his power to save the Italian Church, as well as the religion of his ancestors, from utter degradation and impending destruction!

For, certainly, if there is in the heart of Victor Emanuel anything like affection for the religious institutions of his country, no other way is left to him of saving them, but the determinate and wise one he has just now pursued. Called by his position to the double and arduous task of restoring Italy to herself, and awakening the Italians to a sense of their dignity, he must remove all those obstacles which he knows will delay or prevent the accomplishment of his mission. The temporal power of the Popes is the greatest of these obstacles to both the regeneration of the country and the redemption of its inhabitants. It was the opinion of Machiavelli that Italy owes her degradation as a nation to the fact of the Pope being one

of her princes. Her political nullity, her civil dissensions and servitude, the corruption of her Church, and the superstitious credulity as well as the religious indifference of her people, all are the legitimate consequence of the same fact. Not that we deny several Popes the glory of having done good service to Italy, and at times of having stood alone for and by her against almost all Europe. But we maintain that they have been exceptions; that most of the Popes have sacrificed their country to their ambition and thirst of power; that the interests of Christianity and of the Christian peoples have constantly been made subservient to their temporal power. We maintain that even those few who loved religion and their country would have accomplished a thousand times more for the advantage of both, had they not been the kings of an Italian state. The very spiritual supremacy they claim over the consciences of all men would not have been so constantly disputed and so triumphantly denied, had the Popes never used it to carry on their ambitious designs. The judgment of the Popes themselves concerning their predecessors might be brought as witness against the propriety of their being kings. How many of the Bishops of Rome have been canonized since the Roman See was exchanged for a throne, and the episcopal mitre for a triple crown? Why did the Church number among her saints all that occupied the Roman See before that period? Why has this honor been denied to almost all those that came afterward? Here is a significant fact, when we consider that the catalogue of the papal saints has been yearly increasing, and how little is required to confer upon a dead man the honors of the papal apotheosis. From the moment the Bishops of Rome assumed for themselves the title of Supreme Pontiffs of Christendom, from that moment they felt the necessity of temporal power to further their plans. They obtained it in times when a powerful emperor or king was supposed to possess the right of dividing the world, and handing it over to whomsoever he pleased. Of course they recognized such a right, and called it divine. Woe unto him that should dare to think otherwise! The blessed Apostle Peter, whose patrimony the Roman state was declared, would not have his right put in question! His indignation has ever since fallen heavy upon

the head of the unbeliever! And his successors, not in the apostleship, but in the patrimony, have forgotten feeding the lambs, absorbed as they were in watching over poor Peter's interests and claims.

The conduct of Pius VII. affords the most striking illustration of the deplorable effects the temporal power exerts on the independence of the Church and the liberty of her ministers. It was in order to preserve his petty kingdom, that Pius VII. enslaved the churches of France and Italy to Napoleon I. By granting him the right of appointing bishops and pastors, he changed the priests into government officers, and, to use the words of Father Ventura, into *Commissarii di Polizia in sottana*. By consenting to their being paid out of the public treasury, he reduced them to the necessity of looking on the throne for inspiration, rather than to Heaven, or its natural interpreter, the people. Nor was he a weak man. As soon as he had been dethroned and sent away an exile from his state, he showed moral courage enough to resist all Napoleonic pretensions. He felt as if a great burden had been taken from his shoulders. The fear of losing his dominions no longer haunted him, and the hope of re-acquiring them had vanished. Therefore he was free, and acted from that moment as it became a man who believed himself intrusted with the interests of the whole Church. If he did occasionally yield to the demands of the Emperor, it was not from fear, but ignorance of the true state of things, and want of advisers. No Pope has ever appeared so great as Pius did after he ceased being a king. But alas! he was restored upon the fatal throne, and his courage, his freedom, his independence were at once succeeded by cunning and deceit, by flattery and submission to the wishes of European despots. No prince has been more absolute, and less disposed to acknowledge any right of the people, than the seventh Pius after his restoration to the Roman States. It was he that revived the Society of the Jesuits, against the opinion and the requests of all the good, thus destroying with a stroke of his pen what had been accomplished by one of the noblest among his predecessors, the virtuous Clemens XIV., and cost him his life in the ac-

complishment. It was Pius VII. that denied the inhabitants of the Legations the privileges they had enjoyed ever since the Popes had subjected them to their sway, thus giving cause to that just and uninterrupted opposition of the people to the government, which has only been answered by bloodshed and wholesale murder. It was he, in short, who encouraged and blessed the formation and the proceedings of that league known under the blasphemous appellation of *Holy Alliance*, which, in the name of God, and under the pretence of protecting Christianity, has committed more crimes, and alienated more souls from religion, than any association of wicked men, or any error purposely taught and spread among the people.

Now, as the king of Northern Italy could not fail to know all this, how could he consistently act otherwise than he did? How could he answer the call of nearly two millions of Italian Christians, but by taking them under his protection, and giving them the benefit of a liberal government, as he had done in regard to their fellow-countrymen who were groaning under the yoke of other tyrants? Was he to abandon them in their distress, merely because their oppressor was a priest who calls himself their *tender father*, and the Vicar of Christ on earth? Was he to rely on the word of the Bishop of Rome, who always promises to satisfy the desires and the wants of his subjects when threatened with the loss of the temporal power, and who never keeps his word after all danger is over? Victor Emanuel is both too humane and too Christian to do such things. As an Italian prince, he fully knows and appreciates the part he is called upon to act during the present struggle. As a Christian prince, he feels the necessity of depriving the Popes of a power which they have seldom used for good, and which has been the only cause of the enormous corruption of the Italian churches. In few words, he is convinced that no permanent reform, moral or civil, religious or political, can be carried on so long as one of the Italian bishops exerts temporal authority on any part of the peninsula. Hence his determination to accept the responsibility of uniting in a single state those provinces which have been the Pope's, as

well as those which have been the Dukes' or the Emperor's. And in giving his consent to the decree of the people, he has acted with a moderation that has gained for him the esteem and admiration of all — friends and foes, Protestants and Catholics — who were not blinded by prejudice, or interested in the former state of things. If any charge may be brought against him, it certainly is not lack of respect for the Pope in his capacity of "the Head of a Church." It is the unjust ruler of an Italian state, with his anti-Italian policy; it is the priest who sacrifices the freedom and lives of the people to keep himself on a throne upon which he has no longer any claim; it is the greatest and most ungenerous foe of the union, independence, and liberty of Italy, — and not the pastor of a church, or the bishop of a diocese, whom Victor Emanuel has opposed, and will, we trust, oppose till the regeneration of that classical country is accomplished. Of course, if we judge him by the narrow rules of the advocates of the temporal power, or by the illiberal principles of popish theologians, we shall find him at fault. But who can, that is not one of those advocates or theologians? Who else now ventures to refuse a nation the right of choosing a ruler, and a man that of accepting the charge?

Several of the writers in behalf of the Pope recognize that right as to any other nation, but utterly deny it as to the inhabitants of the Papal States. They claim the so-called States of the Church as the property of the Catholic world, and refuse the people thereof all interference with its government and legislation. Moreover, it is affirmed that such a small proportion of the Catholics as are subject in temporal matters to the *Apostolic See* ought not assert rights calculated to impair the influence and authority of the Church, even if they really possessed them. "Let the Italians," exclaims the Bishop of Orleans, "let the Italians be satisfied with the glory of giving the world a spiritual chief, and the Almighty a Vicar on earth. They should not carry their ambitious pretensions beyond that." Where these most reverend gentlemen, and their patrons, the Counts Montalembert, Brignole-Sales, Solaro della Margherita, and so forth, — where they found out these double rules and measures, is

more than anybody can say. Their opinion in this case, as well as in many others, stands for proofs and documents, and a few high-sounding phrases without meaning are quoted as incontrovertible principles, which nothing on earth or in heaven can withstand. "The two powers, spiritual and temporal, must be confounded together in the Roman states, that they may be separated everywhere else." "The temporal power of the Popes is intimately connected with the glory of Catholicism, as it is with the liberty and independence of Italy." "Ages have done this [united the temporal power with the spiritual], and have done right." Such and similar aphorisms, uttered in a moment of excitement by Odillon Barrot, or by Louis Napoleon, in order to lull the priests to sleep, — such senseless aphorisms are repeated as unanswerable arguments in almost all the publications we have read in behalf of the temporal sovereignty of the Roman bishops. And with these they expect to persuade poor Italy to give up all her dearest rights, and to stifle all her holiest aspirations, contented with the honor of having a Pope-king sitting next her heart. "Read your Gioberti," they say to the Italians, "and you will be satisfied that the greatness of your country exclusively depends on the temporal power of the Pope." It is true that Gioberti was of that opinion. But he fashioned a Pope to his own fancy, and created such a clergy to stand by him as never existed or is likely to exist. Besides, he expected the Church to change her principle; to constitute herself the advocate of every kind of freedom, from that of the press to that of conscience; to proclaim and defend the right of all nations to take charge of their own interests and affairs; to establish so broad a creed as to remove every obstacle to the union of all Christian churches around the Bishop of Rome. In his magnificent dream, published under the title of *Primato d'Italia* (The Supremacy of Italy), he anticipates with a great deal of satisfaction that glorious time, and rejoices at the thought of Italy being once more the mistress of all nations, the lawgiver of the world.

Without sharing all the opinions of a man whom we esteem as one of the purest and most elevated minds, and whom we loved as one of our steadiest friends, — without sharing his

opinions on this subject, we may be permitted to say what we think about this matter. We believe with him, and with many others, even among Protestants, that it would be very desirable to have all Christians united in love, and not ashamed of each other. We believe with him, and with all bishops of Christendom, that around no other centre could so many churches be gathered, as the one already recognized by more than one half of the Christian world. We believe with him, and with all Popish writers, that the independence of such a *man-centre* would be absolutely necessary for the fulfilment of his duties towards the Christian body. But we also believe that no Christian denomination would gather around a priest-king claiming to be above all, and using his temporal power in order to arrogate such a spiritual authority as Christ himself never assumed over his disciples. As for his independence, we consider it as utterly irreconcilable with any form of worldly jurisdiction, and we point to history for the unfortunate effects of their union. O, if the Bishops of Rome could only understand their position! If they could appreciate the importance of a spontaneous and free union of the Christian churches! They would resign the government of a state which is nothing but an encumbrance to the apostolic ministry; they would abandon all pretensions to a spiritual supremacy which in fact is but nominal, and find themselves really the venerated representatives of the one Catholic Church. The true friends of the Pope are not those who urge upon him the duty of not yielding to the desire of the Italian nation; nor are the best ministers of the Gospel those who flatter his pride by incessantly repeating in his ears, *Prima Sedes a nemine judicatur*,—"The first See cannot be judged by any one." A man who finds himself elevated to the high position of supreme pastor in a Church counting over one hundred and fifty millions of souls, and who besides claims a real though indirect jurisdiction over all men, whatever may be their religious belief,—such a man is necessarily made a spectacle to all nations and tongues, and should expect to see his movements closely watched, and his actions most severely judged. As he cannot produce documents testifying to his pretensions of being the Vicar of Christ and the representative

of God on earth, it is natural that men who respect themselves as well as their fathers' religion should look at his works, and by them decide whether he is what he pretends to be. We are neither in China nor Japan. To demand of civilized nations that they should not criticise the acts of a prince merely because he says he is to be subject to no one, is certainly to demand more than Europe or America can grant in the decline of the nineteenth century of the Christian era. All endeavors to prevent men from beholding the light that shines around about them must fail, nor is it in the interests of the priesthood to come out with the ridiculous pretension of being exempted from observation and censure.

Let the Bishop of Rome spontaneously descend before he is hurled down from the high seat he has usurped; let him mingle with the disciples of Christ, whatever be their name, and become the least among them; let him give up his claims to infallibility, and entreat his brethren not only to advise him, but to judge his every act, — and then some hope may be entertained of seeing the Roman See to stand above all other Sees in the world. The beautiful dream of Gioberti may then be realized, and the longing even of many a Protestant for a centre of union and unity satisfied. The day, however, when the Pope will be prevailed upon to do so much is yet far, and nothing can be said of the probability of its coming till his temporal power is done with. It has been the temporal power which has caused error, superstition, dissension, schism, and crime, to dishonor, corrupt, rend, and prostitute the Church; and the chief remedy for all these evils consists in the abdication of it. We say *abdication*, not surrender, nor overthrow. For if the Popes were to lose their States only in consequence of a revolution in Italy, or a revolt in Rome, even if then they submit to the necessity of events, and give up the useless practice of protesting against and excommunicating everybody, then the idea of their taking advantage from their position to uphold the supremacy of the Roman See would be preposterous. Two thirds of the Italians, and fully one half of the Catholics, could not be persuaded to acknowledge as the head of the Church a man who, by his obstinacy and thirst for power, had caused the slaughter of

thousands of his fellow-Christians and countrymen, and plunged his country into all the horrors of a revolution. This would be true, especially at this time, when the Pope and his advisers have committed wrongs so many, so great, so evident and manifest, as to excite pity rather than indignation when they attempt to justify or deny them. We gladly believe that Pius IX. is moved by the most conscientious motives, and really thinks to do his duty in the interest of the Church and of religion; but we doubt very much whether his counsellors are animated by the same spirit, or care either for religion or Church. Natural goodness and purity of motive may be sufficient to justify the man, but will never justify the prince and the chief pastor of so large a portion of Christendom. All the curses uttered of late against the Liberal party, — that is to say, the best men and women of Italy, — all these curses may return on the head of their author, and prove the most effectual cause of his destruction. God does not settle accounts at the end of the week, but the time will certainly come when the law of retribution must take effect. The Pope bitterly complains of the ingratitude of his *children*, and stands before the Catholic world as the victim. But he does not say how that ingratitude was preceded by patience, and long-suffering, and disappointments, and outrages received, and tortures suffered, on the part of the people, — by deceit, unkept promises, unheard-of insults, cruelty to beggar description, and treason, on the side of his government. The oppressed, the murdered ones, are represented as deserving their fate; but bare assertions cannot belie facts which are known to everybody that can read, and does not go to the enemies of his country for information. We hope that the inhabitants of the Papal States will endure a little longer, and when they rise and have subdued their oppressors will make use of the victory with moderation, and be magnanimous towards the fallen. We tremble, however, knowing that Providence deprives nations of their reason at times, as it does individuals, that they may avenge their wrongs without being accountable for the act, — thus employing them as instruments of Divine justice upon those that deem themselves not amenable to the justice of men. The bloody scenes of the first French Revolution might be repeated in Rome, and the obstinacy of a bishop would then cost thou-

sands of priests their lives. So far the Romans have allowed their regard for the Supreme Pontiff to overrule their indignation at the enormities perpetrated by the prince and his government. They have respected the rather morbid feelings of several Catholic nations, which, not knowing by experience what priestly government means, ascribe to the ambition of a *few Liberals* the general sentiment of the whole peninsula. How long will that respect prevent the explosion of their for so many years compressed wrath? Do they really owe to their Catholic brethren of other countries the sacrifice of whatever man holds dear and sacred on this earth? Will they not rise and make their ecclesiastical oppressors feel the consequences of that principle upon which the religion *they* teach is founded: *Without shedding of blood there is no remission.*

These remarks may appear too strong and our fears groundless to any one that reads history to no purpose, or thinks that human nature has entirely changed. The noble attitude assumed by the people, both in France and Italy, towards their trembling fugitive rulers during the revolutions of 1848, may lead to the conclusion that there is nothing more to be feared. But if we think of the new and manifold crimes committed against the nation by the Papal Court during these last twelve years, we will not deem it impossible that the time may have come when strict and terrible account will be demanded. Who knows but the expedition of Garibaldi to Southern Italy is not the signal for the oppressed to rise in their might, and summarily put an end to a scandal which has already lasted too long? Can Pius IX. answer for the safety of his clergy? Can he prevent the Romans from rising by his bulls of excommunication, or even by the army he musters out of the scum of Austria and Ireland? Romans know no fear. Rather than bear any longer with the temporal power of the Popes, they are determined, like the Samson of the Jews, to bury themselves under its ruins. *E' troppo tardi*, — "It is now too late," — is their motto. No promises, no reforms, no concessions, will they accept or listen to. Abdication, absolute, unconditional abdication of all claims to an Italian state, is the only means to avoid bloodshed, and keep the Italians from declaring they do not recognize the Pope as the Head of their Church.

ART. IV. — THE BROAD CHURCH.

1. *Le Troisième Jubilé Séculaire de l'Église Réformée de France. Sermon, par* ATH. COQUEREL Fils. Paris. 1859.
2. "*The Unitarian Position.*" *A Letter addressed to the Rev. I. F. MacDonald, by the* REV. JAMES MARTINEAU. London. 1859.
3. *The Unity of Christ's Church. A Discourse delivered in Harvard Church, Charlestown, March 4, 1860. By* GEORGE E. ELLIS. Charlestown. 1860.
4. *The Monthly Journal of the American Unitarian Association.* July, 1860. Vol. I. No. 7. Boston. 1860.

HERE are four recent pamphlets, which we name where we might name scores. They are recent exhibitions, in quarters widely separate, of the certainty that the unity of the Church is to be attained by some broader philosophy, and some organizations more comprehensive, than those which led each sect to expect that in the end its rod should swallow all other rods, and that its uniform should be worn over all other uniforms. The possibility of the diversities of administration where there is one spirit begins to make itself felt. What is better is, that not only is this tolerated as a possibility, but announced as a necessity. The leaders acknowledge that there must be some foothold broader and more certain than that held by any religious body which stands on quivering tiptoe upon the top pinnacle of its dogma, and cries out to other bodies to boast that they are not so high. M. Coquerel warns his Reforming friends of the dangers of their position in France. Mr. Martineau, in this tract, and in the discussion which followed it, pointed out very clearly to the Unitarians of England the danger of any Procrustes policy. Dr. Ellis, in one of a series of Discourses, which has very properly been rescued from the obscurity of manuscript, shows in America the grounds of the vital unity of the Church. More than this, — in the Anniversary exercises of the American Unitarian Association there is evidence enough that these are not the accidental statements of strong men speaking for a minority of the Unitarians, but that the catholic view taken in these discussions may be regarded as the received view of the Unitarian fellowship.

The Christian Examiner, for several years, has felt bound, for good and sufficient reasons, to deviate from the custom of printing in its pages the annual "Conciones ad Clerum." But at the earnest desire, expressed by a unanimous vote, of the audience who listened to it, we insert the following discourse, read at "the Ministerial Conference" by the President of the Unitarian Association; since the subject of it is one of such central interest, and the views it contains would be likely to find a place in our pages in some other form. — EDS. EXAMINER.

THE BROAD CHURCH.

"And they shall come from the east, and the west, and the north, and the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God." *

We all know how utterly and astonishingly this prediction was verified in the first centuries of the Christian Church, which is what is here meant by the kingdom of God. Fifty days after the death of Christ, in whose tomb it was seemingly extinct, and whose resurrection was then the private persuasion only of a few friends, the soul of that kingdom burst forth again with irrepressible vehemence at Jerusalem. It swept the city with a rushing mighty wind from heaven, and a demonstration of fiery tongues, inaugurating the new heavens and the new earth of the Christian ages. Three thousand souls sat down in the kingdom, by invitation of Peter, that day. East, west, north, and south were all represented. "For there were dwelling at Jerusalem at that time Jewish proselytes out of every nation under heaven," providentially gathered to the feast of the tribes; — Parthians, Medes, Elamites, from the east; people from the parts of Libya about Cyrene, strangers of Rome, Cappadocians, Phrygians, from the west and the north; and dwellers in Mesopotamia from the south. When this rushing mighty wind struck them, it lodged a seed of the kingdom in their souls, which they took with them to their proper homes, and sowed in their several lands, where it grew to be a heavenly plantation, a spiritual oasis amid the perish-

* Luke xiii. 29.

ing polytheisms of the Empire, and the droning synagogues of the Dispersion.

These plantations were replenished and reinforced from time to time by missionaries, apostolic and other, from the old centre and the neighbor lands. Paul went to Arabia and Asia Minor and Greece and Italy, some say to Spain, — to what was then the uttermost verge of the West. Thomas, according to tradition, went to the uttermost verge of the East. Philip, by mediation of a household officer of the Queen of Meroe, whom he baptized on the road to Gaza, planted the word far down in the South. Others, most likely disciples of Paul, carried it to Britain, high up in the North. The plantations grew, and flourished, and spread. The Empire writhed under them, and made desperate efforts to throw them off; and no wonder, for they rode the Empire as a green and lusty parasite rides some huge bole of a thousand rings, the monarch of the forest, which, vast and robust as it is, must finally succumb to the stealthy encroachment.

The plantations grew and spread till they ran together into a kingdom of God, which covered the earth, the known and travelled earth of that time. Cosmas, the great navigator of the sixth century, found Christianity established in Malabar; he found Christian churches and bishops in Ceylon, whose "spicy breezes" had pleaded, and not in vain, with the saints aforetime, as they pleaded in saintly Heber's day, for missionary effort. Already from uttermost China, jealous then as now of her own productions, the Emperor Justinian had received, through Christian missionaries, the secret of the silk-worm; and thus, as sceptic Gibbon confesses, a Christian mission had accomplished what secular commerce had labored in vain to effect, — the introduction of the silk culture into Europe. There were Christians at the mouth of the Ganges, Christians in "distant Aden," Christians in Ormuz, and in Abyssinia. Saracen hordes from the heart of the great desert had listened to St. Simeon from the top of his prison column, and received the Gospel at his hands. In Persia, Christian bishops had overthrown the temples of the sun. On the slopes of the Caucasus, a Georgian king and queen, themselves instructed by a Christian slave, had succeeded in evangelizing their people. Mean-

while, at the other extremity, Ireland, converted by holy Patrick as early as the fifth century, was known as the "Island of Saints," the school of Christian Europe, and a centre of spiritual light. The savage Goth was tamed into a peaceful confessor of the Gospel of peace, and, German-like, must have the word in his native tongue. Learned Jerome, in his cell at Bethlehem, translating the Bible into Latin, is astonished by a message from two Goths inquiring the true meaning of certain passages in the Psalms. "Who would believe," he says, "that the barbarian tongue of the Goth would inquire concerning the sense of the Hebrew original, and that, while the Greeks were sleeping, the Germans would be investigating the Word of God." A very significant fact it is, that the first translation of the Scriptures into German, the language of a rising world and of modern thought, was contemporary with the first authoritative translation into Latin, the language of medieval thought and a dying world.

So mightily grew the Word and prevailed, and so it was that geographically east and west, and north and south, sat down in the kingdom of God. And in our day, though other religions may number more disciples, there is none so widely diffused as the Christian,—none that can vie with it in geographical extent,—none which embraces so many latitudes and longitudes, and differing nationalities. A few meridians include the boasted millions of Hinduism and of Islamism. When daylight dies along the waves of the Caspian, it disappears to all the worshippers of Buddha; when "sets the sun on Afric's shore, that instant all is night" to the followers of Mohammed; but Christendom is a kingdom on which the sun never sets, where east and west, and north and south, sit down together, and earth's extremities join hands.

But the prophecy of our Lord has another meaning and fulfilment besides the geographical one we have been discussing. The kingdom of God has other distinctions and relations, divergences and approximations, than those of space. The spiritual horizon has its polarities as well as the material. There are cardinal points of the spirit, as decided in their peculiarities as east and west, and north and south, and, like these

divisions of the compass, organic constituents of the spiritual world, necessary each to its orb'd completeness and indispensable to its very being. Viewing the prophecy in this light, it expresses the spiritual completeness of the kingdom of God, or the Christian Church, as well as its geographical extent. East, west, north, south, may be regarded as typifying different tendencies and qualities of the spirit; — the east, stability, conservatism; the west, mobility, progress; the north, internal activity, — the inner life, idealism, mysticism; the south, exterior productiveness, ritualism, symbolism, ecclesiastical organization.

All these tendencies and types of spirit were represented in the primitive Church, — the Church of the Apostles. We find them all in the New Testament. The element of stability — the conservative element — was impersonated in Peter, and still more decidedly in James, first Bishop of Jerusalem, — in general, we may say, by that first Jerusalem church, which adhered so strongly to the Old Covenant, to Moses and Mosaism, that in fact it was only a Jewish sect, — a synagogue, differing from other synagogues only in the one tenet that Jesus was the Christ. The antagonist principle of progress, how perfectly it was incarnated in Paul, the daring innovator, founder of cosmopolitan Christianity, who burst the bonds of Judaism, cut loose from the moorings of the Old Covenant, and carried the New to the Gentile West.

If we look for traces, in this age, of the idealistic, mystical spirit, we find them clear and decided in the Gospel and First Epistle of John, whose author thought more of the invisible Church than of the visible, and less of the Jewish historical Christ than he did of the eternal Christ, the Divine Word incarnated in him, whose God was not the Jehovah of the Jews, but light and love, and who in his inwardness and ideality is the prototype of the mystics and quietists of later time.

Finally, the ritual and symbolical side of religion was also represented in the primitive Church and in the New Testament. The Epistle to the Hebrews finds in all the ceremonial of Judaism the foretype of Christian sanctities, and the Book of Revelation under the figure of the New Jerusalem contemplates a Christian church which is something more than the

spiritual fellowship of believers, — a close organization, a compact, corporate institution, with the powers and functions pertaining to such a body.

What is true of the primitive Church and the undeveloped Christianity of the apostolic age, how much rather is it true of every subsequent age of the Church! When Eastern and Western Christendom divided in the irreconcilable antagonism of their views and claims, in spite of the geographical separation, the spiritual compass remained unimpaired and complete. The Western Church, with which our Protestant Christendom more immediately connects itself, had still its spiritual east and west, its north and south. Through all the period of the Middle Age these types are present, and these tendencies at work. Take the culmination of the Roman hierarchy. The period of the greatest consolidation and seeming uniformity was also that of the greatest internal divergency. If conservatism reigned undisputed on the seven hills, reform was triumphant in the gorges of the Jura and the valleys of Provence; if ritualism was rampant in one quarter, idealism had reached its climax in another. Peter the Venerable is oracle here, Peter de Brueys is oracle there. The mighty Innocent in his pride of place is constrained to approve the beggar from Assisi, whose ominous career he would fain have suppressed, but that policy finds the popular preacher less dangerous within the Church than out of it. While Thomas Aquinas is seeking to perpetuate the past, and to fix the sum of theology in inexpugnable and irrevocable dogmas, Raymond and Oliva and others are proclaiming the "Everlasting Gospel" of human progress, and announcing a new age and a new dispensation of the Holy Spirit.

If now we come to the world of our own time, to the Protestant Christendom of to-day, we find there also — regarding Protestantism externally and historically as one movement — a complete church, in which east and west and north and south are all represented. Protestant Christendom is bounded on the east by the Rocky Mountains of immovable Orthodoxy, on the west by the River of Free Inquiry, on the north by the White Sea of mysticism, on the south by the Gulf of Prelacy, which divides it from the Church of Rome. In other words,

Calvinism at one extremity, and Universalism at the other, Quakerism and Spiritism on this hand, and Episcopacy on that, define this spiritual kingdom and attest its completeness. But though Protestantism as a whole, externally and historically considered, exhibits this compass and variety, it is one of the evils of Protestantism that, internally and practically, it is not a whole, but a chaos of disunited, independent states, having no ecclesiastical fellowship with each other. The Protestant Christian, however catholic his own temper and views, is practically shut up within the fold of a sect which, if liberal, is excluded by all the rest, and which, if illiberal, excludes them. If a native of the east, it is not lawful for him to sit down with them of the west; if he come from the west, he is an offence to the saints of the east; if inclined to the north, he is cut off from the sympathies of the south; if reared in the south, he is early imbued with a holy horror of the north. The only way to obviate this evil in each particular communion is by individual tolerance to strive for completeness within that fold. Each sect should seek, so far as practicable, to be a catholic complete church. A sect is then in a healthy state when a due admixture of conservatism and liberality, of speculation and activity, of idealism and formalism, answering the condition and satisfying the necessities of different minds, supplies all the elements of ecclesiastical edification, and completes the spiritual horizon. East, west, north, and south must unite in every kingdom of God, and every sect is in theory such a kingdom.

I. Every church must have its east. The east is the region of steadfastness, of perpetuity. The terrestrial east, the geographical east, the old Asian world, has had historically this character,—the home of aboriginal, imperishable light, of eternal dominion and unchangeable custom. Every church must have its conservative side, its point of resistance, its fixed fact, its morning sun of unchangeable verity,—something eternal, immutable, sufficing. And what should that be but the Christ, God's Christ and our Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, the spiritual sun of our human world? Fundamental and indispensable to every true church is the idea of Christ, not the moral teacher and philosopher, a Jew-

ish Socrates or Confucius, but Christ the Son of man and the Son of God, impersonation of the divine-human, never as a name and a sanctity to be set aside or superseded, however the doctrines and views connected with that name may change and disappear with the course of time. In fact, that name is the only one of a veritable, historical personage, that has had the power to organize history, — not the history of this or that tribe, but the world's history, — to thread the nations and the ages on the string of an idea, and to bind them in œcumenical relations to the throne of God. It was this that laid hold of the New World, and — what commerce and conquest could not do — attached it to the Old, and gave to these States the spiritual results of the past without the tedium of its processes. No name has spanned such chasms and schisms of thought and life. None carries with it such pledge of perpetuity. What changes may yet pass upon society, what revolutions, political, ecclesiastical, moral, may toss, and convulse, and remodel the Church and the world, surpasses the sagacity of man to predict. But of this be sure, — this, even amid the darkness and the deeps, the uncertainty, perplexity, and agony of time, through which humanity is now groping its perilous way, we may venture to affirm, — that the name of Christ and its sacred import will surmount all and survive. All the tempests that sweep society will not pluck the idea of divine humanity incarnate in Christ from the soul of man and the path of history. So long as the sun which makes our natural day shall rise in the east and hasten on to the west, that diviner sun which makes our soul's day will continue to rise on each successive generation and accompany each to their rest.

Other ideas there are, necessarily connected with that of Christ, — ideas of man's nature and calling and destiny, of reconciliation and atonement in Christ, — ideas underlying, but by no means identical with, the dogmas of the sects, which are also original constituents of the Gospel, and therefore necessary elements in a true Christian church. These are that fixed and unchangeable which every church is bound to respect, and in virtue of which every church must have its conservative side, its cardinal east, the eye of its horizon, the salient principle and starting-point of its spiritual life.

II. Then, secondly, each church must have its west. The west, in our interpretation of this Scripture, stands for mobility, variety, progress. Our own west, this young continent, with its rapid and amazing growths, its spreading populations, its ever multiplying ways of communication, its endless traffic, and its shifting customs, suggests this use of the term, type as it is of mobile and progressive life. Every church should be flexible and plastic enough in doctrine and discipline to allow of growth; it must not assume to have all truth and all knowledge in its traditions, to be "perfect and entire, wanting nothing," nor think to confine the action of the mind, to limit the progress of inquiry, and to tie Christianity forever to its creed. Christianity, though bound to a given idea and to certain immutable truths, is not, for the rest, a fixture, but a movement and a growth; not a divinely established system of views and institutions and immutable forms of thought and life, but a flowing demonstration of the spirit in such forms and aspects and embodiments as each successive age required, or was fitted to apprehend and to profit by,—a series of evolutions in which truths and principles unchangeable in their essence are variously expressed to differing minds in different times,—a progressive revelation of God in Christ. That such is the true and providential character and destiny of our religion is evident in the writings of the New Testament, when we compare the statement of Christianity in the first chapters of the Acts with the statement of it in the Epistles to the Corinthians and the First Epistle of John. We see there the immense stride which the Church made in the age of the Apostles, and in their hands, from Jewish Christianity to universal Christianity, from a national polity to a humanitarian faith. The march thus inaugurated did not stop for nearly a thousand years, and then only slackened in the darkness and storm of the feudal night. It has never really stopped to this day; when in one organization it found itself hampered and brought to a stand, it burst into schism and resumed the movement in a new. The Holy Spirit, whose body is the Church, does not bind itself to uniformity of doctrine or rite, but adapts itself to different minds and times. The spirit is one; but there are differences of administrations and diversities of gifts, divergent views and

dissentient tongues, one Lord and many confessions, unity in variety. This is the method and law of the Church universal, and each particular church and connection should respect in this the mind of the Spirit, not seek to impose a uniform system of belief, not insist on a single solution of every question, but open itself to free discussion, tolerate dissenting views, allow full scope to philosophic speculation within the limits of the Christian idea, and maintain an open and liberal west, as well as a close and steadfast east.

III. And further, every church must have its north. The north I have designated as the region of idealism, which, in religion, soon turns to mysticism. The terrestrial north, with its atmospheric peculiarities, its magnetic mysteries and auroral splendors, indicating as it were a nearer commerce with the skies, may seem to warrant this designation. The Puritan genius of our American churches has no affinity and little patience with what is called mysticism, inclining rather to literal interpretations and surface views. But mysticism is a very important element in religion, a feeling after God, "if haply we may find him." It is that by which religion lays hold of the invisible and enters into fuller, that is, more conscious and intimate, communion with the spiritual and heavenly world. Without it there is danger that the Church will lose the consciousness of God, and become a distant province of God's kingdom,—an outlying colony, governed by deputies, instead of that kingdom itself, with God in Christ for its present and conscious home-government and head. When the Church in ages past had become that, or was threatening to become it; when the Roman hierarchical polity had slipped its holdings, cut itself off from the invisible by its earthliness and secularity, and set itself up for an independent kingdom, with Rome for its heaven and a pope for its God, there arose in the order of Providence the great mystics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the new fathers, not inferior to the old, who restored the Church to the fellowship and communion of the Holy Spirit. Who can read with attention the Gospel of John, and not see how a tincture of mysticism deepens and quickens and intensifies what is best and holiest in religion! How much more profound the Christianity there, than that of

the other Gospels! How much more intimate the author's communion with the soul of Christ, and his appreciation of Christian truth! The other Evangelists give us a prophet, the fourth gives us the Word made flesh. If we were to strike from the library of Christian literature the writings which could best be spared, they would be the folios of systematic theology, the Bodies of Divinity, so called, — those weary compilations in which massive and useless dogmatic edifices are reared on the oldness of the letter, with no apparent apprehension in the writers of the deeper import which the letter conceals. But if we were to select from the writings of the Church the works which we would not willingly let die, the works to be preserved and handed down, they would be those mystic compositions of the Roman and Protestant communions, which, though little read by the flighty readers of this time, are felt to be given by inspiration of God, and to be invaluable for suggestion and reproof and "instruction in righteousness," — the writings of Anselm and Thomas à Kempis and Tauler and Fenelon and Jacob Boehme and William Law, — inexhaustible treasuries of fructifying thought and celestial monitors of heart and life. Something of mysticism is inseparable from devotion. Every prayer which we breathe, which is not a formal offering or a begging for temporal good, but a genuine aspiration, a gushing up of the deep heart, a yearning after God, is a mystical act, and, if analyzed and referred to the fundamental principle involved in it, will be found to point to mystical theories of man and God. I say, then, that mysticism in this sense is a necessary element of religion, and can never be wanting in a true church. It is this that keeps the heavens open and God near, and the soul awake, nature holy, the word significant, and life divine. Every church that is sound and flourishing will welcome gladly and cherish kindly this mystic northern light, whose very eccentricities and dancing meteors, the sportive gleams and wild corruscations which seem so unpractical, confess at least a sublime aspiration, prophetic, it may be, of a better life, when heaven and earth shall meet in eternal day.

IV. Finally, the Church must have its south. A church

requires a ritual, requires symbols and sacraments, — something outward as the exponent and medium of ecclesiastical life. The teeming and exuberant south, with its tropical luxuriance, fertile of forms, abounding in varied and organic life, may serve to typify this side of religion and the Church, — its organism, — by which term I comprehend whatever pertains to worship and communion and corporate action. The necessity of organization to a church, the necessity of ritual or something corresponding thereto in the way of worship, and of some description, however simple, of ecclesiastical polity, is proved — if the nature of things and the laws of life are not sufficient for that purpose — by the case of the first, the aboriginal church, and the example of the Apostles. Jesus prescribed no form that we know, and none was needed so long as the Master himself was present, the fountain-head and lord of life, to fill and to bind the Church of his disciples. Its organization was then spontaneous, life from the living source pervading the whole, a flowing articulation from moment to moment of thought and love. But no sooner was the Master withdrawn than his followers began to organize at once both worship and life, and we find them in those first days joining in litanies, choosing officers, assigning functions, establishing a commonwealth, and holding councils. The Holy Spirit which was poured upon them took to itself an organic body, and became articulate in forms and rites. And from that time to this, formal worship, liturgical devotion, and ecclesiastical organization have been co-ordinate, or nearly so, with the Christian name. Whatever exceptions there may be but confirm the rule. If any movement of dissent from the doctrine and practice of a given church has failed to organize devotion and action, it has passed away, or is passing; it has been absorbed, or is destined to be absorbed, by other sects, in which the vital principle is more energetic and organific. A church without a ritual, without symbols and sacraments and a corporate organism, as a permanent institution, is an impossibility, a contradiction in terms. The religious sentiment, it is true, is spontaneous and eternal; in one form or another it will always exist where man exists; but this spontaneous religion, unfixed and uncertain, may so degenerate as to be-

come an evil rather than a good. There is no absolute religion for man, but only particular, given religions. And any particular religion, as the Christian, for example, preserves its identity by means of symbols, without which what is Christian this year may turn to heathen the next. Religion craves expression, — a permanent religion a stated expression, a common religion a common worship and common rites. In other words, religion requires a church for its exponent, and a church requires a ritual for its medium, and a corporate organism for its conservation. The individual may feel no want of symbol or sacraments, and no satisfaction in them. It is because the religious sentiment in him is imperfectly developed, or not of the genuine Christian type. And though the individual may do without them, a church cannot. A fatal weakness inheres in the church that wants or neglects them; its doom is writ, its dissolution is sure. A true church with other requirements and belongings will have and cherish this southern side of ritual worship, this southern principle of organic life; and however its antecedents and its exigencies may forbid the tropical luxuriance of the Church of Rome, where ritual runs to mummery and organization to despotism, it will reverence at least and hold fast whatever in the way of symbol and rite belongs by tradition to its proper constitution.

These four, represented by and representing the fourfold completeness of the spiritual horizon, east, west, north, and south, stability and progress, ideal and ritual, are the cardinal constituents of a true church. To which we must add, as the complement and crown of the whole, the Charity which binds and pervades and harmonizes all, — that supreme grace of the Christian dispensation, love manifest in works of social reform, in ministrations to the poor and suffering, in health to the sick, and light to them that sit in darkness, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound. The church in which these elements unite is a broad church, though numbering its disciples not by millions, but by hundreds or by tens. A holy catholic church it is, though the smallest sect in Christendom, and excommunicated by all the rest. I believe in the Broad Church thus defined. According to the creed of the Fathers, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church," — not that which

consists in masses and indulgences, in manipulations and genuflexions, and infallibility and a broaden God, but that which consists in faith and progress and devotion and love. Let each church labor in its place and kind to develop and assert this catholicity, and the boundary lines which divide the sects shall be washed clean out in the gracious life that shall flood them all, and fuse them all into one prevailing kingdom of God, whose unshut gates shall exclude none that desire to enter, and where east and west and north and south shall meet in peace and join in praise.

ART. V.—WOMAN'S RIGHT TO LABOR.

"Woman's Right to Labor," or Low Wages and Hard Work. In Three Lectures, delivered in Boston, November, 1859. By CAROLINE H. DALL. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860.

WE have already signified our interest in these spirited Lectures, and our satisfaction with the way in which the author has performed her work. Here is not only a mass of facts, showing the evils to which women are already subjected in our large cities, but there is a mass of practical suggestion, meeting the terrible question, "What are you going to do about it?" before which most philanthropists stumble and fall. We learn that the book will probably go to a new edition soon,—and to that edition we wish to call attention by a few extracts which our space did not permit in January.

We will say, very frankly, at the outset, that we are glad we have these three arrows tied together, instead of the quiver-full of twelve, from which Mrs. Dall discharged them.

"More than two years ago, I conceived the thought of twelve lectures, to be written concerning Woman; to embrace, in four series of three each, all that I felt moved to say in relation to her interests. No one knew better than myself, that they would be only 'twelve baskets of fragments gathered up;' but I could not distrust the Divine Love

which still feeds the multitudes, who wander in the desert, with 'five loaves and two small fishes.'

"Nine of these lectures have now been offered to my audiences. In the first three, I stated Woman's claim to a civil position, and asked that power should be given her, under a professedly republican government, to protect herself. In them I thus stated the argument on which I should proceed: 'The right to education — that is, the right to the education or drawing-out of all the faculties God has given — involves the right to a choice of vocation; that is, the right to a choice of the end to which those faculties shall be trained. The choice of vocation necessarily involves the protection of that vocation, — the right to decide how far legislative action shall control it; in one word, the right to the elective franchise.'

"Proceeding upon this logical formula, I delivered, in 1858, a course of lectures stating 'Woman's Claim to Education;' and this season I have condensed my thoughts upon the freedom of vocations into the three following lectures. There are still to be completed three lectures on 'Woman's Civil Disabilities.' I should prefer to unite the twelve lectures in a single publication; but reasons of imperative force have induced me to hurry the printing of these 'Essays on Labor.'" — *Preface*, pp. v., vi.

This list of the four series, of three each, suggests the hackneyed quotation, which applies to almost everything,

"Tris imbris torti radios, tris nubis aquosæ
Addiderant, rutili tris ignis et alitis austri."

It originally described the materials of Jupiter's thunderbolts, and, as we remember the off-hand translation of a Phi-Beta dinner table, may be read thus: —

"Three parts were raging fire and three were whelming flood,
But three were thirsty cloud and three were empty wind."

The three lectures before us, on Women's Right to Labor, and those which are to come on their Civil Disability before the Law, involve questions of first-rate practical importance. The more they are discussed, the better for all parties, and the sooner will daylight come. These are the fire questions and the water questions. But on the other hand, — while the whole question of the right of suffrage is where it is, — no one principle regarding it so settled, but that in every Congress, Parliament, and Convention its principles are discussed

anew,—we confess to some satisfaction at any check of the discussions about its details. We are glad in this case that any “reasons of imperative force” have held back a plea for extending to women a duty, the grounds of which for anybody are, as yet, left very vague and undetermined.

We may say nearly the same thing of Mrs. Dall’s plea for more book-learning for women, which we should have had in the education lectures. Take the States of this country which make any provision for “education,” and the women get, for their sins, a great deal more of it than the men. Indeed, one of the most serious difficulties in the questions regarding the place of women, with us, is that resulting from the fact, that, while most boys go to work at fifteen and leave school, most girls keep at school some years longer. Till we have adjusted all the follies which spring out of this want of adaptation, we may well shrink from any plans which propose more book-learning for the girls,—more massacres of more innocents. We have such reasons for calling the education lectures and the suffrage lectures “the thirsty cloud” “and the empty wind” of the thunderbolt.

The three lectures before us are spirited, practical, very exciting and entertaining. The first is entitled, rather melodramatically, “Death or Dishonor;” the second, “Verify your Credentials;” the third, “The Opening of the Gates.” Of the first we quote the conclusion, because it states the result of the argument, and will prepare our readers for the second and the third.

“I have shown you that a very large number of women are compelled to self-support; that the old idea, that all men support all women, is an absurd fiction; and, if you require other evidence than mine, you may find it in the English courts, under the working of the new Divorce Bill. Nearly all the women who have applied for divorces have proved that the subsistence of the family depended upon them. Out of six million of British women over twenty-one years of age, one half are industrial in their mode of life, and more than two millions are self-supporting in their industry, like men. Put this fact fully before your eyes.

“Driven to self-support, you have seen, also, that low wages and comparatively few and over-crowded avenues of labor compel women

to vicious courses for their daily bread. The streets of Paris, London, Edinburgh, New York, and Boston tell us the same painful story; and in glaring, crimson letters rises everywhere the question, — 'Death or dishonor?' I have shown you that there is encouragement for moral effort, because these women escape from vice as fast as they find work to do. 'Have they strength for the conflict?' you ask, 'or desire to enter such fields?' Find your answer in what they have done from the earliest ages, with the foot of Confucius and Vishnu, of capital and interest, upon their necks. In the lovely lives of Bertha and Ann Gurney, and the powerful attraction of Sarah Scofield, you have found pleasanter pictures whereon to rest your eyes. Let no man taunt woman with inability to labor, till the coal-mines and the metal-works, the rotting cocoons and fuzzing-cards, give up their dead; till he shares with her, equally at least, the perils of manufactures and the press of the market. As partners, they must test and prove their comparative power." — pp. 57 – 59.

The second lecture points out to women themselves the necessity of a training more efficient than they generally choose to receive; the truth is, that in their choice made in early life is the greatest difficulty in this difficult question. Why are not more women engravers, painters, printers, or, if you please, sailors or farmers, or, yet again, clerks, physicians, lawyers, or ministers? The prime answer to this question is, that at the age of twelve or thirteen, when for most men the choice of a calling in life is practically made, most girls, and the parents of most girls, have other dreams than those which involve a seven years' apprenticeship to any vocation. At thirty years old, it is perfectly true that there is many a woman who wishes she were trained in some calling which requires years of preliminary drill and drudgery, but she is too late in her choice. At this age she enters into competition with the boys, who have always known that they must earn their living, and who begin at fourteen their training for it. The inevitable consequence is, that the women who want work are forced into those lines of life which need only short apprenticeships, and it is their competition with each other in these few walks which brings down so ruinously the rates of their wages. Mrs. Dall understands this as no other writer whom we have met with. From among her illustrations we copy the following passages: —

"It was one of the most distinguished of our female merchants — Martha Buckminster Curtis — who planted, in Framingham, the first potatoes ever set in New England; and you will start to hear that our dear and honored friend Ann Bent entered on her business career so long ago as 1784, at the age of sixteen. She first entered a crockery-ware and dry-goods firm; but, at the age of twenty-one, established herself in Washington, north of Summer Street, where we remember her. She soon became the centre of a happy home, where sisters, cousins, nieces, and young friends received her affectionate care. The intimacy which linked her name to that of Mary Ware is fresh in all our minds. What admirable health she contrived to keep we may judge from the fact, that she dined at one brother's table on Thanksgiving Day for over fifty years. She was the valued friend of Channing and Gannett; and her character magnified her office, ennobled her condition, gave dignity to labor, and won the love and respect of all the worthy. Less than two years ago, at the age of ninety, she left us; but I wished to mention both her and Miss Kinsley in this connection, because they were the first women in our society to confer a merchantable value upon taste.

"Instead of importing largely themselves, they bought of the New York importers the privilege of selection, and always took the prettiest and nicest pieces out of every case. As they paid for this privilege themselves, so they charged their customers for it, by asking a little more on each yard of goods than the common dealer.

"I know nothing for which it is pleasanter to pay than for taste. When time is precious (and to all serious people it soon becomes so), it is a comfort to go to one counter, sure that in ten minutes you can purchase what it would take a whole morning to winnow from the countless shelves of the town.

"Scientific pursuits cannot be said to be fairly opened to women here. The two ladies employed on the Coast Survey were employed by special favor, and probably on account of near relationship to the gentleman who had charge of the department of latitudes and longitudes. Their work is done at home. Some years ago, Congress made an appropriation for an American Nautical Almanac, and Lieutenant Davis was appointed to take charge of it. Three ladies were at one time employed upon the lunar tables. Lieutenant Davis told one of them that he preferred the women's work, because it was quite as accurate, and much more neat, than the men's. In 1854, Maria Mitchell was employed in computing for this almanac, with the same salary that would be given to a man. I may say, in this connection, that a great many extra female clerks have been employed in Washington for

many years. The work has generally been obtained by women who had lost a husband or a father in the service of his country; and, I am proud to say, such women have usually been paid the same wages as men. During Mr. Fillmore's administration, two women wrote for the Treasury, on salaries of twelve hundred and fifteen hundred dollars a year; but the succeeding administration reformed this abuse, and very few are now at work." — pp. 93-97.

If Mrs. Dall will drive up her young friends of thirteen and fourteen to begin then to "verify their credentials," she will have struck at the root of the whole difficulty.

In "The Opening of the Gates," — the third lecture, — she points out, in a feminine and practical way, the points where they may make a beginning. She adapts her suggestions to the city of Boston, where she delivers them; but they will be found equally applicable in every large city of America. She acknowledges that she is discussing evils which belong to town life chiefly; but she shows distinctly that they have their close relations with the condition and position of women in the social order of our farming regions.

If the women who are pale and nervous because they "want a mission," will give some personal experiment to some of the suggestions made here, they will be more like to forget their difficulties than they will in the fetichism which worships any neighboring minister, — or in the desperation that drives them through one "season" more of gay social life, — or in any course of reading, which can be laid down by the nearest accessible philosopher. It is refreshing to step out from the accustomed discussions on the possibilities of the sex, to something which savors as much of Araby the blest as Mrs. Dall's discussions of fig-paste and candied fruits. And we will close our specimens of her agreeable book by this tempting morsel for the sweet teeth which remain to our readers.

"When I mentioned wood-carving to women, I was thinking, in part, of the immense annual demand for Christmas presents. In this connection, also, I should like to direct the attention of our rural women to the art of preserving and candying fruit. 'But that is nothing new,' you will say. 'Did not your Massachusetts census for 1845 enumerate certain picklers and preservers?' Yes; but those women were merely in the employ of men carrying on large estab-

lishments. What I would suggest is a domestic manufacture to compete with French candies, and to occupy the minds of our farmers' wives and daughters, to the exclusion of shirt-fronts and shoe-binding.

"Every one of us, probably, fills more than one little stocking, on Christmas night, with candied fruit. If we belong to the 'first families,' and wish to do the thing handsomely, this fruit has cost from seventy-five cents to a dollar a pound; we knowing, all the while, that better could be produced for half or two thirds the money. Last year, I purchased one pound of this candy, and examined it with practical reference to this question. Plums, peaches, cherries, apples, and pears, all tasted alike, and had evidently been boiled in the same syrup. Apple and quince marmalades alone had any flavor. Now our farmers' daughters could cook these fruits so as to preserve their flavor, could candy them and pack them into boxes, quite as well as the French men; and so a new and important domestic industry might arise. The experiment would be largely profitable as soon as all risk of mistake were over; and perishable fruit at a distance from market could be used in this way. A few years ago, we had a rare conserve from Constantinople and Smyrna, called fig-paste. Now we have a mixture of gum Arabic and flour, flavored with essences; made for the most part at Westboro, and called by the same name. Yes, we actually have fig-paste, spicy with winter-green and black-birch! Now, what is to prevent our farmers' daughters from making this? — from putting up fruits in air-tight cans, and drying a great many kinds of vegetables that cannot be had now for love or money? Who can get Lima beans or dried sweet-corn, that does not dry them from his own garden?

"Do not let our medical friends feel too indignant if I recommend to these same women the manufacture of pickles. The use of pickles, like the use of wine, may be a questionable thing; but, like liquors, they are a large article of trade: and, if we must have them, why not have them made of wholesome fruit, in good cider-vinegar, with a touch of the grandmotherly seasoning that we all remember, rather than of stinted gherkins, soured by vitriol and greened by copper? There are many sweet sauces, too, — made of fruit, stewed with vinegar, spice, and sugar, — which cannot be obtained in shops, and would meet a good market. How easy the whole matter is, may be guessed from this fact, that, sitting once at a Southern table, — the table of a genial grand-nephew of George Washington, who bore his name, — I was offered twenty-five kinds of candied fruit, all made by the delicate hands of his wife; and seven varieties in form and flavor, from the common tomato." — pp. 137 - 140.

ART. VI. — JOHN CALVIN.

1. *Leaders of the Reformation.* (Art. *John Calvin.*) By JOHN TULLOCH, D. D. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1860.
2. *The Life and Times of John Calvin.* By PAUL HENRY, D. D. Translated from the German by HENRY STEBBINGS, D. D., F. R. S. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1854.
3. *The Life of John Calvin.* By THOMAS H. DYER. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1850.
4. *History of the Life, Works, and Doctrines of John Calvin.* By J. M. V. AUDIN. Translated from the French by REV. JOHN MCGILL. Baltimore: John Murphy.
5. *Westminster Review.* (Art. *Calvin at Geneva.*) No. 137. July, 1858.

AMPLE materials for a true understanding and just appreciation of the labors and merits of Calvin are now before the American reader. Henry's *Life* is a rich *placer*, rather than available metal. It contains ore which will amply reward the careful miner. He has given us two huge, ill-arranged, and not very readable volumes, full of the results of patient research, and bearing everywhere the marks of two very different sentiments,—a genuine love of truth and a thoroughness of idolatry for his hero not common even in biographers. The result is, that you have for the most part the real facts, from which you may form your own judgment; and you have also extravagant theories and special pleadings, from whose influence you must sedulously guard yourself. Dyer's work, on the contrary, is clear, methodical, quite interesting, and, though neither so full nor profound as the former, apparently free from the influence of prejudice. Audin gives us the Romish view. His book is abusive without being vigorous; bitter and not witty; full of the parade of original research, yet carrying no conviction. Its chief value consists in furnishing an antidote to Henry's undue adulation. Tulloch's article is a popular sketch, on the whole marked by a candid and liberal spirit, but from its brevity necessarily omitting the consideration of some points of largest interest and importance. The article in the *Westminster Review*, entitled "*Calvin at*

Geneva," is a very ingenious attempt to prove that Calvin's destruction of liberty at Geneva was the salvation of liberty in Western Europe. Overstating the value of the Reformer's really great influence, and apparently overlooking other forces which existed independently of him and would have worked out their results had he never lived, the author draws from the acknowledged premise that theological dissent providentially widened into political rebellion, the enormous and questionable inference that Calvin was the great bulwark of freedom, against which the waves of tyranny beat in vain. For those who wish to study Calvin's own words, we have the excellent edition of his great work, published by the Presbyterian Board of Education, and translations of all or most of his Commentaries. So that without reference to the more minute works in French and Latin, the English reader possesses the means of forming an intelligent judgment concerning the character and work of the great Reformer.

The time of Calvin's appearance was auspicious. The Reformation had passed through its first stage. A great spiritual movement had been successfully inaugurated. What the age now wanted most was a man who could give a spiritual direction to the discordant energies and aspirations of the times. Emphatically that man was John Calvin. Differ as we may in our estimate of his character and works, no one can doubt his ability to give wide and permanent sway to his own ideas of truth. A man bold in the fields of theological inquiry rather than in the actual conflict of man with man; by nature a recluse; his proper weapon the pen, and not the sword or the eloquent tongue; lacking the fiery courage which impelled Luther to go forward when the bravest might well draw back; lacking too the kindling warmth and genial sympathies of the Saxon,—he yet had qualities which especially fitted him to meet and satisfy the great religious demand of the age. Not indeed a great original discoverer in the realms of truth, he was gifted with a mind vigorous, precise, and logical, and which shrank from no deduction of his reason, however terrible; with a persistent will which nothing could daunt or turn; and, above all, with that power of classification,

which out of the fragmentary thoughts of more creative minds builds up a system logically coherent. He put in clear light, and bound together with strong bands of argument, and marshalled in battle array, the ideas which men were blindly cherishing, and which were shaking to their foundations the strong walls of church and state ; and so his private life penetrates into and becomes a part of the public life.

Of the early days of John Calvin we know but little. That he was born at Noyon, Picardy, July 10, 1509 ; that his father, Gerhard Calvin, was a man of severe character and more than ordinary probity and intelligence ; that his mother was profoundly religious after the fashion of her Church, and sought zealously to impress her Catholic piety upon her son, praying with him, often beneath the open sky ; — these few, scanty hints comprise all we know of the parentage and childhood of this remarkable man. He owed his education to the bounty of the noble De Mommor family of Picardy. By their kindness he was saved from the hardships incident to a poor student's experience. Under their roof he was domesticated. With their sons he went to Paris to pursue his studies. From their patronage he received early preferment. At first, he was destined for the Church, and indeed was appointed chaplain of the cathedral of Noyon at the early age of twelve years, and a little later began to preach, — a fact which he records with boyish exultation. But the portentous aspect of theological affairs and the parental ambition awakened by his extraordinary mental vigor conspired to work an entire change in his father's purpose, and, in obedience to the paternal command, he abruptly quitted the study of theology and entered a school of law at Orleans. Here he made such progress in his new vocation, that, when the question of the legality of the marriage of Henry VIII. was submitted to the learned bodies of Europe, Calvin, then only twenty-one, was personally consulted, and gave a written opinion favorable to the monarch's wishes. His later career as legislator at Geneva proves that this legal training was not lost upon him. Nay, the marks of that training may be found written deep in a character, whose prevailing tendency and weakness was a disposition to limit the range of thought, and to confine the warm, gushing, re-

ligious sentiments, which are in their very nature liberal and expansive, within the narrow bounds of technical precedents and dogmatic creeds.

In these student years the characteristics of his later life appear sharply defined. A stern censor of morals in the schools, as afterwards at Geneva, he rebuked with unsparing severity the vices of his comrades. A bitter enemy declares that his fellow-students at Orleans called him "*Monsieur Accusatif*," scornfully saying, "John knows how to decline as far as the Accusative case." He was always laborious. Withdrawing from society, maintaining the most abstemious habits, devoting his days and the larger portion of his nights to arduous and systematic study, he reaped the natural fruits of such a course, — exact erudition and a shattered physical frame.

Biographers have not failed to notice the wide difference between the youthful experience of Calvin and that of his great compeer, Luther. While young Martin, in the hut of the poor miner, was early inured to hardship; or in the village school, brutally beaten by a savage pedagogue, was painfully acquiring the rudiments of knowledge; or begging from house to house; or singing in hamlets and villages for bread, — Calvin, received into a noble family and enjoying a tender and even aristocratic nurture, wandered at will through the fertile fields of knowledge. This experience had its influence. It gave him those scholarly habits and that nice adjustment and balance of the faculties so essential to the dialectician. It could not give him that glorious nature of Luther's, in sympathy with all humanity. It could not give him those tumultuous passions, those gentle, home affections, nor that lyric fire and eloquence, which made Luther in the presence of men the mightiest of the sons of God. Courage he had; but not that courage which courts danger, not that courage which rides and controls the turbulent waves of popular agitation. His courage sprang rather from an inflexible will ruling a timid nature. In obedience to that will he could encounter any danger, and with unflinching vigor compel a whole city to bend to his fixed purpose. But not of choice. To the last, his recluse habits and aristocratic refinement clung to him. His true field was his study; his natural companions were books.

At the age of twenty-one he stood to the worldly eye in an enviable position. At a period when most young men are looking forward to the future with anxiety and doubt, his success was secure. He had a mind of rare clearness and force. His legal attainments were acknowledged. He was sure of patronage. Yet even then influences were at work which were to call him away from the peaceful triumphs of a prosperous legal career to stormier scenes and a more transcendent success. The Romanist, Audin, says, that as early as the age of fourteen he had read the pestilent works of Luther, and lost the repose of faith. But of this there is no proof. Certain it is, however, that at the age of nineteen he met Pierre Robert Olivetain, a relative, a translator of the Holy Scriptures, and a Protestant, who did much to unsettle his faith in Catholicism. And at Bourges, whither he went from Orleans, he was confirmed in the new doctrine and diverted from the study of the law by the arguments and counsels of Melchior Wolmar, the Greek Professor. "Do you know," said he to his pupil one evening as they were taking their usual walk, "that your father has mistaken your vocation? It will do for Alciata to preach law, and for me to spout Greek; but give yourself up to theology, the mistress of the sciences." Calvin recognized the wisdom of the advice. It is probable that before the death of his father he preached secretly. It is certain that immediately after that event he abandoned his legal studies, came to Paris, and gave himself wholly to the ministry, preaching with great zeal to the few Protestants who gathered by stealth for worship in that city.

In 1533 Calvin for the first time brought upon himself the open displeasure of the French authorities. The occasion was this. Nicholas Cap, Rector of the Sorbonne, was to have preached a sermon before the theological faculty of that University on a regular feast-day. Having a leaning toward Protestantism, and perhaps distrusting his own very limited abilities, he employed Calvin to prepare his discourse. That discourse covertly attacked the Catholic Church. The result may be imagined. The Sorbonne was in arms. The aid of the temporal power was invoked. Cap fled to Basle. The

order was given for the arrest of Calvin, whose complicity was suspected. He escaped, as some will have it, by letting himself down from his window by a sheet, and assuming a vine-dresser's frock ; and in this disguise, a bag upon his back and a hoe upon his shoulder, taking the road to Noyon ; — or, as others, with more probability, assert, by the powerful interposition of Marguerite, Queen of Navarre, sister of the king.

For two years he lived the life of a fugitive, through all his wanderings and amid the surging waves of persecution holding fast his faith, quietly extending his influence, pursuing his studies, putting his last touches to his great work, and waiting for the place which Providence was even then preparing for him.

It was during these years of exile that he published the work by which he is most widely known, his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Dedicated to Francis I. in an epistle of such power that it has been included in the list of the Three Remarkable Prefaces, its object was to supply the French Protestants with a systematic manual of doctrine, while at the same time, by a publication of the real opinions of the Reformers, it furnished a refutation of the slanderous accusations of the Papists. Calvin was already widely known, but this work raised him at once to a commanding position. It was not, indeed, on its first appearance, either in fulness or systematic arrangement, what it afterwards became. But its subsequent modifications were changes in form, not in substance ; and it is the boast of his admirers, that after the age of twenty-five he never materially changed an opinion. Says Beza, his intimate friend and eulogist, "The doctrine which he held at the first he held to the last." A fact which marks not only his early maturity, but also that characteristic mental rigidity which never permitted him to reopen a question for fresh inquiry, or to see that there could be any ground, either in reason or conscience, for an opinion differing from his own.

It is not our intention to analyze the contents of this book. It is known to all theologians as a body of divinity, comprehensive in its plan, systematic in its construction, logically coherent, full in its illustrations, and whose corner-stone is the doctrine of Predestination, which Calvin has stated with

terrible conciseness, when he says: "In conformity, therefore, to the clear doctrine of Scripture, we assert that, by an eternal and immutable counsel, God hath once for all determined both whom he would admit to salvation, and whom he would condemn to destruction." "For they are not all created with a similar destiny; but eternal life is foreordained for some, and eternal damnation for others." What constitutes a striking peculiarity, and, we had almost said, charm of the work, is the calm, perspicuous language, as far removed from passion and extravagance on the one hand as from timidity and vagueness on the other, with which the author propounds and elucidates doctrines, from which every natural instinct revolts, which lay the axe to the root of every principle of justice, which make God virtually the author of evil and plainly responsible for its continuance, and which destroy all reasonable inducements to struggle against depravity, whether native or acquired. It is instructive to see these terrible and dishonoring views of God and his dealings with men stripped of all sentimental glosses and disguises, and standing forth in their true character. No better remedy can be prescribed to a desponding Liberal Christian than a perusal of Calvin's *Institutes*. Let such a one take down this book of old divinity, peruse its pages, comprehend its ideas, and then take courage and acknowledge that the world does move. Here is what half a century since was the spiritual food of our churches, as much the milk for babes as it was the meat for strong men. How is it now? Very truly does Tulloch declare, that "the old *Institutio Christianæ Religionis* no longer satisfies, and a new *Institutio* can never replace it. A second Calvin in theology is impossible." Freedom and progress are now the laws of religious life, and will remain so. Some eyes may turn fondly backward, some hearts and pens may desperately resist the current; but they cannot stay it. The fearful and unbelieving may flee the Liberal ranks, and take shelter beneath the shadow of the past;—like the Arctic navigator, they may hope to secure their position by anchoring to vast fields of ice, but meanwhile those very fields, impelled by an irresistible undercurrent, are drifting from their old moorings into temperate climes, to be dissolved by southern breezes and the rays of the sun's full orb.

What gave the Institutes their immediate influence was the fact that they furnished the first systematic expression of the thoughts which were burning in the hearts of those champions of the Reformation. But the book explains its own success. It has rare merits. Calvin apprehended his own position, and he dared to accept the logical consequences of his own premises; and, to crown all, he knew how to present with crystal clearness his exact thought. Of the views of that school of religious philosophy to which he gave the name, no abler exposition has ever appeared.

The time had now come when Calvin's life-work was to assume a definite shape. In the summer of 1536, in the second year of his exile, he visited secretly the home of his childhood, and, having disposed of his little patrimony, bade a final adieu to his native land. His purpose was to go to Basle. But the invasion of Lorraine by the Emperor Charles V. forced him to take a circuitous southern route. In the prosecution of this journey he reached Geneva, proposing to tarry there one night. But his presence was made known to William Farel, who had already preached the doctrines of the Reformation in that city, but whose hot and impulsive character made him unequal to the consolidation of his own work. Farel entreated Calvin to remain and assist him. Calvin replied that "he could not bind himself to one church, for by so doing he should have no time for his own improvement, and that he was not one of those who could be forever giving out and never receiving in." Whereupon Farel, assuming the attitude of an ancient prophet, exclaimed, "Now I declare unto you in the name of Almighty God, to you who only put forth your studies as a pretence, that if you will not help us to carry on the work of God, the curse of God will rest upon you, for you will be seeking your own honor rather than that of Christ." Calvin has himself recorded the impression made by this fearful expostulation. "I was kept at Geneva," he says, "not properly by any express exhortation or request, but rather by the terrible threatenings of William Farel, which were as if God had seized me by his awful hand from heaven." He withdrew his objections, was elected

teacher of theology and preacher, and rose at once to paramount influence.

Geneva, which was henceforth to be the scene of Calvin's labors, was perhaps the most favorable spot for the exercise of his peculiar influence. Situated on the western extremity of the beautiful lake of the same name, just outside the boundary of France, it gave the Reformer all the advantages, while it freed him from all the perils, of a residence in his native country. Nominally a fief of the Empire, and for many years under the sway of a bishop and the Dukes of Savoy, it had three years before, by its own prowess, and by the help of the Canton of Berne, achieved a real independence, and given in an open adhesion to the Reformed faith. In form, its government was republican; in fact, an oligarchy. Its officers were four syndics, — to whom the order and discipline of the city were confided, — an executive council of twenty-five, and a general council of two hundred. In theory, all important questions were under the direct control of the citizens. But as, in practice, nothing came before the citizens which had not received the sanction of the council of two hundred, and as that body undertook only such business as the council of twenty-five approved, it is easy to see in whose hands the real authority was vested. But, as the executive council consisted of the four syndics, chosen annually by the people, of the four retiring syndics, the city treasurer, and sixteen persons elected by the council of two hundred, it might be thought perhaps that this arrangement would practically limit its power. But when we consider that the syndics could be selected only from a meagre list of eight names, submitted to the people by the executive council itself, and that the remaining sixteen members could be elected only from a list of thirty prepared also by the same body, and that the members of the council of two hundred were in fact creatures of the executive council, being nominated and chosen by it, we readily perceive that the barriers to its power were likely to be sufficiently feeble. Indeed, with some limitations growing out of the impossibility of overriding entirely the will of a people trained by long conflicts to freedom, the authority of the executive council was absolute. To sway it was to rule Geneva. We must bear these facts in

mind if we would understand how Calvin acquired his all-controlling influence.

His position was one of great difficulty. At first he had been received with open arms ; but soon a bitter opposition arose. This was due in part to the unsettled condition of affairs, but more to the essential repulsion which existed between the rigid nature of Calvin and the free disposition of the native Genevans. These seem to have been a gay, volatile people, who loved not to look on the stern side of life ; who were fond of music and dancing, fond of dress and show ; who did not object to a play or cards, nor, it is to be feared, to wine and revelry and the grosser vices. To such a people came John Calvin, a man who despised all these things,—who considered them to be heinous sins ; a man of grave manners and austere character, engaged in a work to which he felt everything else must bow. A conflict was inevitable. The nominal causes of discontent were, that the clergy refused to their flock permission to erect in the churches baptismal fonts, to celebrate four feast-days in the year, and to eat unleavened bread at the communion, privileges which were enjoyed by the churches in the neighboring Canton of Berne. The real cause was a desire to throw off that stern church discipline which Calvin would impose upon them ;—a discipline which must have pressed with intolerable severity upon such a people ; which forbade all dancing and cards, all masquerades and plays ; which would have no pomp and festivities at marriages ; which doomed the bride herself to imprisonment, if she dared to wear on her wedding-day flowing tresses ; and which must have made the whole week seem to the light-hearted Genevese a long Puritan Sabbath. On the points at issue Calvin, with his usual inflexibility, declined all concession. The citizens sought the advice of Berne. The authorities of that town addressed to Calvin and his colleagues a letter, couched in courteous language, recommending conciliation. The advice was spurned. Whereupon the Genevan council passed an order enjoining submission. The preachers refused to obey. The council directly ordered them to administer communion with unleavened bread. They flatly declared that they would not administer the communion at

all to so disorderly and licentious a people. Forbidden to preach, they despised the order, and delivered discourses reflecting severely upon the authorities. At once there was a tumult. Swords were drawn, and the lives of the preachers threatened. The next morning the council commanded them to leave the city within three days. They departed, Calvin saying, "Very well, it is better to serve God than man." At once the fonts were raised, the feasts kept, the unleavened bread eaten, and even greater license of manners prevailed. Rigid as was Calvin's nature, it is idle to suppose that he made a stand at such cost on matters which he himself confessed to be immaterial. Underneath them he saw greater questions;—whether the temporal authorities should interfere in matters of church discipline; and whether too he should relinquish those purposes dear to his heart, and which proposed nothing less than to build at Geneva a Christian commonwealth, based on his own narrow and austere conceptions. On such questions, it was not in the heart of Calvin to bend.

During the three years of his banishment he resided at Strasburg, where he accepted a call as assistant minister. They were busy years, and, so far as his real influence was concerned, not lost years. He devoted himself assiduously to literary labors. He attended the Diets at Frankfort, Worms, and Ratisbon, and came into personal contact with the leaders of the Reformation, and suffered nothing by a comparison of his mind and powers with theirs. At Worms Melancthon conferred upon him the appropriate title of "the theologian." While residing at Strasburg Calvin was married. A biographer has said that "Calvin in love was a peculiar phase in history." And it must be confessed that his feelings were not of that ecstatic kind which takes captive the judgment. On the contrary, he seems to have had a keen eye to his own comfort. In a letter to Farel he says: "I beseech you to bear in mind what I seek in a wife. I am not one of your mad kind of lovers, who doats even upon faults, when once they are taken by beauty of person. The only beauty that entices me is that she be chaste, obedient, humble, economical, and that there be hopes that she will be solicitous about my health." If, however, Calvin had few of the transports of a

lover, he manifested what was better, the fidelity and care of a true Christian husband. Of his domestic life we have but few glimpses, but those few are altogether favorable to his character. He ever exhibited a grave affection and kindness, befitting well his serious and reserved character. For years after the death of his wife he deplored her loss with a sober grief, which proved the sincerity and depth of his regard. He had but one son, who died in infancy. His enemies taunted him with his childless state. His answer is pathetic in its simplicity: "Baldwin reproaches me as childless. God gave me a little son; He took him away again."

The way was now opening for his return to Geneva. What ensued in that city after his departure furnishes perhaps the best defence of his course. Released from his stern discipline, a madness seems to have possessed the people. Not only did they return to their old frivolous life; not only did they restore the innocent amusements, the music and the dance, the masquerades and the plays, the gay marriage festivities and similar pleasures; but they plunged more deeply than ever into vice. The streets resounded with blasphemy and indecent songs; and so far did this license go, that persons paraded the streets stark naked, keeping step to martial music. The successors of Calvin, men of moderate talents and not unstained reputations, were powerless. Two, disgusted and disheartened, threw up their commissions. Things went from bad to worse. The city was torn by dissensions. The rival factions met in the streets in bloody conflict. At last a leader of the Artichokes — so the party opposed to Calvin named itself — killed his adversary, and was doomed to death. Another, accused of sedition, in an attempt to escape the officers of justice, jumped from a window and broke his neck. Two more, suspected of treason, fled the city. These things broke the power of the party, until finally the citizens, sick of tumult, sick of violence and impudent lust, ready to bear anything rather than this scourge of sedition and vice, with one consent turned to Calvin for relief.

Calvin came back to Geneva with unfeigned reluctance. We have seen that, though he had an unbending will, his natural disposition was timid, and his tastes such as made

him shrink from scenes of tumult. He plainly foresaw the conflict which his rigid principles made inevitable. "Pardon me," he says, in a frank letter to Farel, "if I do not willingly throw myself again into that whirlpool. When I remember what has passed, I cannot help shuddering at the thought of being compelled to renew the old conflicts." Not until he had received three invitations, and not until he had been subjected to the angry expostulations of his brethren, could he resolve to return.

He came back a conqueror. Not a point had he conceded. Not a word of conciliation had he breathed. He came with his power increased, and with a determination to use that power with no sparing hand. He came, resolved to bend the inconstant Genevans to his will; to root out their gay, vicious life; and to build them up after that stern model which his tastes, his habits, and his conscience alike approved. He established an iron despotism, which not only repressed all free opinion, but took cognizance of daily actions, and even unguarded words. He lost no time in attempting to put into practice his theories of church and state government. Within three days of his return to Geneva he had represented to the council that there was "a necessity for a scheme of discipline agreeable to the word of God and the practice of the ancient Church." What he desired was not progress, but consolidation; not a polity which should encourage fresh inquiry and new advances in the knowledge of truth, but one which should organize and perpetuate those opinions to which he himself had attained, and which he implicitly believed to be in each and every particular a faithful transcript of God's laws. To achieve this end, he sought to establish on an enduring basis a church and state, closely connected in aim, in spirit, and in measures. A church, which in its own province should be strictly independent of the state; but whose mandates should be supported by the civil power. A state, which should not confine itself to matters of temporal interest, to the regulation of social relations, and to the repression of crime and dangerous immorality; but which should punish with unsparing severity the errors of opinion, the private vices, and the in-

dulgence of those innocent customs and recreations which were condemned by the spiritual authorities.

He carried triumphantly through the councils his schemes of church polity. The duties of the church and state were carefully discriminated, and the secular power as carefully excluded from all interference in ecclesiastical matters. The control of the church rested in a consistory, composed of six ministers and twelve laymen, chosen by the council of twenty-five from a list prepared by the clergy. It is a striking evidence of the power of Calvin, that, without any election, he assumed and kept during life the presidency of this body. The power of the consistory extended only to the reprimanding and excommunication of the offenders. If they continued obstinate, they were handed over to the temporal power to receive a punishment, which under Calvin's influence was almost as inevitable as destiny.

Having finished his ecclesiastical labors, he was next called by the council to revise the laws of the state. The direct tendency of his labors was to take the power out of the hands of the people, and to concentrate it in the council of twenty-five. For instance, it had been no uncommon thing to originate business in great public meetings; now nothing was to be transacted there, or even at the meetings of the council of two hundred, which had not first been sanctioned by the all-powerful council of twenty-five. Previous to his coming, these citizens' meetings could be called at the request of any member of the council of two hundred; now, such a request was of itself considered to be an evidence of a seditious spirit. The influence of Calvin was felt, too, in the increasing severity of the laws, whose rigor grew every year more intolerable, and whose widening application threatened to take from the citizens all freedom even in the minutiae and most private interests of life. That influence was nearly omnipresent, as well as all-powerful, at Geneva. "One reads," says his admiring biographer and eulogist, "with astonishment, essays in his handwriting on questions of pure administration, on all kinds of matters of police, on modes of protection from fire, as well as instructions for the inspectors of buildings, for the artillery superintendent, and for the keepers of the watch-towers."

And he adds, "If Calvin therefore considered a new law necessary, he appeared before the council and demanded it in the name of the consistory;" so that in a literal, rather than a figurative sense, it has been said that "he was the main-spring of the Genevese republic, which set all its wheels in motion."

That such an authority was not attained without opposition may be readily believed. For years a powerful party struggled desperately against his increasing authority, sometimes with a prospect of success, but generally overmatched by his superior genius and perseverance. At length, in 1556, rising against him, four of its members were executed, the rest banished, their property confiscated, and the mention of their return made a capital offence. What were the real character and principles of this party it is not easy to determine with any definiteness. Their enemies have written their history; and the title of Libertines, with which those enemies stigmatized them, yet clings to their memory. That all those uneasy and reckless spirits, who hated Calvin's yoke because he repressed their vicious inclinations, contributed to swell the numbers of the party, is probable. That a few entered its ranks whose opinions struck at the root of all religious faith, and all personal virtue, and even of all social safety, is also probable. But that the leaders as a body were men of intelligence, rectitude, and noble aims, — men who sighed for rational freedom and for a just influence in civic affairs, — is still more evident. They had risked their fortunes and their lives in a conflict with the Church and with the Dukes of Savoy, to deliver themselves from the burden of superstition and the chains of despotism. And it is not wonderful, that they did not submit easily to a government which robbed them at the same time of personal freedom and of that public consideration which naturally belonged to men who had birth, wealth, culture, and a career spent in their city's service, to recommend them. They sought, not unbridled license, but liberty of thought and speech. Henry, in the midst of a glowing eulogy of Calvin, makes the remarkable admission, that "the Libertines desired nothing but emancipation from

the despotism of Savoy and the establishment of free institutions." What naturally awakened their fears was the fact that Geneva was virtually coming again under a foreign yoke. Refugees from every quarter, driven from their homes by religious persecution, fled thither. They were welcomed by Calvin and his colleagues. Peculiar privileges were conferred upon them. As soon as possible they received the rights of citizenship, as many as three hundred having been enrolled in one day. These men, from gratitude, from interest, and from the sympathy of common opinions, allied themselves closely to Calvin, and warmly supported him in all his measures. Quite early their numbers were sufficiently great to arouse the jealousy of the native Genevese. In the end they so increased as to enable him to drive into exile those who had fought to achieve the freedom of the city, and who had occupied the highest places of trust and influence. The Libertines may have erred in judgment in some of their measures; but in their aspirations for rational freedom, and in their struggles to maintain it, they deserve the sympathy of every liberal mind, and the more, that in that contest they perilled and lost everything.

It is becoming the fashion to speak of John Calvin as a champion of political liberty. Indeed, one of our prominent reformers, one whose whole life has been marked by a rare devotion to the cause of human rights, has taken occasion to use language which has the force of a eulogy on Calvin as the creator or defender of Republicanism. If by this it is meant, that he asserted some principles, which, freed from his general system, and received and interpreted by more liberal minds, and advanced by more enlightened spirits, have yielded the good fruit of personal and political freedom, we allow, though with some doubts, that the position may have foundation in fact. If it is meant that his "Spartan discipline" trained up men who were ready to hurl themselves against kings and nobles, church and state, rather than yield one iota of their convictions; and that thus, amid the chaos of civil war and the wreck of institutions and powers, God's providence evolved, by their instrumentality, the grand principles of personal and national enfranchisement, we shall not deny it.

Nay, we go further, and say, that, inasmuch as the Reformation itself was an uprising against the old and the established order, it was natural for the noble and the privileged to array themselves on one side, while the common people arrayed themselves on the other, often passing from theological rebellion to political rebellion. But, as Hallam has justly remarked, "it is a fallacious view of the Reformation to fancy that it sprung from any notions of political liberty." Still further, as Calvinism was a more radical departure from Romanism than the system established by Luther, this tendency to which we have adverted was likely to be where it prevailed more distinct and influential. But to maintain that Calvinism has always been on the side of freedom, or, with Buckle, that "Calvinism is always democratic and Arminianism aristocratic," is to maintain what is not true. In Holland, for generations, it was not the Calvinists, but the Arminians, who struggled for republican liberty. In Holland it was the Calvinists, allied to Maurice of Nassau, who put to death Barneveldt, whose unstained character and freedom from all suspicion of selfish aims, and whose fifty years of undeviating attachment to the principles of political and religious liberty and untiring labor for their advancement, made him the very impersonation of rational patriotism. It is in New England, where Arminianism and the spirit of Liberal Christianity have wrought most powerfully on religious opinions, on literature and social life, that the spirit of democracy rises highest and the hatred of oppression is most profound and vehement. It is in the South, whose theology bears the decided impress of Calvinism, that aristocracy the proudest and slavery the most cruel are cherished institutions. Certainly there is no necessary alliance between the rigid formula and the principles of human equality and freedom. Especially to affirm that Calvin himself was by conviction a republican, or that he felt one throb of sympathy for human freedom in any large and generous sense, is to affirm that which has not the shadow of a foundation in fact. He of all men would have repelled it as an aspersion. By nature he was a despot; by taste, a monarchist; by conviction, an oligarchist. In fact, he established an unmitigated despotism. When he had fin-

ished his work at Geneva, he left her citizens but little either of political, religious, or personal freedom. In his Institutes he maintains the divine right of kings and the duty of passive obedience. In his chapter on Civil Government he thus expresses his views: "It has happened in almost all ages that some princes, regardless of everything to which they ought to have directed their attention, give themselves up to their pleasures in indolent exemption from every care; others, absorbed in their own interest, expose for sale all laws, privileges, rights, and judgments; others plunder the public of wealth, which they afterwards lavish in mad prodigality; others commit flagrant outrages, pillaging houses, violating virgins and matrons, and murdering infants. Many cannot be persuaded that such ought to be acknowledged as princes, whom as far as possible they ought to obey." "But if we direct our attention to the word of God, it will carry us much further: even to submit to the government, not only of those princes who discharge their duty to us with becoming integrity and fidelity, but of all who possess the sovereignty, even though they perform none of the duties of their function." Again: "If we have this constantly present to our eyes and impressed upon our hearts, that the most iniquitous kings are placed upon their thrones by the same decree by which the authority of all kings is established, those seditious thoughts will never enter our minds, that a king is to be treated according to his merit, and that it is not reasonable for us to be subject to a king who does not on his part perform toward us those duties which his office requires." Language could hardly convey a more complete assertion of the divine right of kings, and the duty of passive obedience on the part of the governed. Any oppression, however intolerable, might find a shelter beneath so broad an apology. Charles I. and Strafford, and not Vane and Hampden, the Cavaliers, and not the Roundheads, are the true exponents of such a doctrine. The legitimate tendency of such language was early perceived. Sir Dudley Digges, the fit representative of a father who was a smooth patriot under James I., and as smooth a courtier under his son, in a work entitled "The Unlawfulness of Subjects taking up Armes against their Soveraigne, in what

Case soever," quotes Calvin to sustain his servile arguments. And Calvin's admiring biographer frankly acknowledges that he had no love for the republican form of government, and makes it a reason for eulogy that he did not, like Knox, give to Protestantism a political tendency. It is true that Calvin limits his general position so far as regards religious opinions and duties. But even here he so carefully guards his statement, that no oppression, however intolerable, or crime, however monstrous, would justify either active resistance or secret plots. So that if any one believes, that, in theory or in fact, Calvin was a champion of freedom, he must do it in opposition to the testimony both of the Reformer's words and his practice.

Consider for a moment what his practice was, for in that we have an ample illustration of the spirit and meaning of the theory. The government, civil and ecclesiastical, which he established at Geneva, or which was established there under his influence, realizes, in a broader sense than the author used it, what Hallam has said, that "the Reformation was but a change of masters." We have already seen that, so far as Calvin meddled with the framework of the government, he did so only that he might take the control of affairs out of the hands of the many and place it in the hands of the few. And the regulations which those few enacted were of the most vexatious and tyrannical nature, violating the rights of conscience and the right of private judgment in matters of a purely personal nature. Here are a few of them. He who absented himself from church was fined. If one was sick three days and failed to give notice to the ministers, he was liable to be punished. Dancing, cards, masquerades, and the wearing of tresses or clothing not according to the church pattern, were met by imprisonment or the scourge; the pleasant vices of the Genevans, by death. In 1546 one Chapuis was imprisoned four days, because he persisted in calling his child Claude, instead of Abraham as the minister required; and because he said that he would rather that his child went fifteen years unchristened than accept the name. Ami Perrin, who more than once filled the highest offices of the state, had been active in securing Calvin's recall. The wife and father-in-law

of this man were imprisoned for dancing. To a remonstrance against this degrading treatment, Calvin broadly intimated, that they might seek a home elsewhere if they pleased, but while at Geneva would have to submit to such regulations ; an answer which, coming from a foreigner to those who had been largely instrumental in securing the city's freedom, and from one who had derived from them much of the very power by which he crushed them, must have been sufficiently galling. And what made the yoke of Genevan bondage yet more bitter was the system of espionage which caught up and reported every unguarded word or act.

The most remarkable feature, however, of Genevan administration was the severity with which any disrespect to Calvin was punished. Berthelier was excommunicated, because he said that he thought that he was as good a man as Calvin. A lady of Ferrara for a similar offence was forced to beg pardon of God and man, and to leave the city in twenty-four hours on pain of being beheaded. And these are not solitary instances, but the like were of almost daily occurrence. The culmination of this form of tyranny was seen in the case of Pierre Ameaux, himself a member of the council of two hundred. This man at a party in his own house, under the influence of wine, was foolish enough to say "that Calvin was a wicked man, and only a Picard." For this offence he was arrested and lay in jail two months ; when, confessing his fault, and upon the payment of a fine amounting to sixty dollars, he was released. Whereupon Calvin, deeply incensed, came before the council, attended by the clergy, and demanded a revision of the sentence, saying, "there was an end of all discipline, if matters were thus dealt with." Ameaux was re-arrested, forced to make the *amende honorable*, marching through the town in his shirt, with bare head, torch in hand, and concluding by falling on his knees and expressing his contrition. Are we reading the annals of some irresponsible Oriental despotism ? Even the inflexible Frederic of Prussia was willing that his subjects should say what they pleased, while he did what he pleased.

But the despotic character of Genevan policy was most clearly displayed in its treatment of religious opinions. In

this respect no liberty was allowed. To fall away from the state religion was to lose the rights of citizenship and to assume the character of a criminal. Calvin's view, no doubt conscientiously adopted, was, that whoever opposed God's truth deserved punishment, and might be justly removed by banishment, and if necessary by death. His mind, which never knew the doubts and changes which disturb the experience of most, considered all opinions differing from his own to be the offspring of impudence or petulance or madness. "If any man should call in question," says he, "the existence of Plato, or Aristotle, or Cicero, who would deny that such madness ought to receive corporal punishment?" "Those who despise the honor of God must be punished with the sword," is his axiom. Such were the principles on which he acted; and the history of Geneva for twenty-five years was a commentary on these views.

Look at some of the results of this entire abrogation of free inquiry. Jerome Bolsec had fled from Paris on account of religious opinions, and established himself as a physician at Geneva. He seems to have been a man of character and some intellectual force; and succeeded at any rate in securing the confidence of the leading citizens and of Calvin himself. Soon, however, he expressed in private doubts of the doctrine of predestination. He was admonished, but remained unconvinced. He crowned his offence by a public declaration of his opinions. Taking advantage of a custom, which permitted even laymen to make remarks upon religious discourses, he rose in the church of St. Andrew, after a sermon on the doctrine of Election, and put the following very pertinent questions: "How can you believe that God has determined the lot of every man before his birth, destining this one to sin and punishment, and that one to virtue and eternal reward? Would you make God, the eternal and righteous one, a senseless tyrant? Would you rob virtue of its glory, free vice from its shame, and the wicked from the terrors of conscience?" For this he was brought before the council, and, refusing to retract, was banished. Calvin's own recorded words make it at least probable that only the interposition of the ministers of Berne saved Bolsec from the penalty of death, or at least that of

imprisonment for life ; and this, too, when apparently on all points, except the dark and mysterious question of God's decrees, he was in perfect agreement with the Genevan church.

The second case is still more interesting. Sebastian Castellio, at the request of Calvin, came to Geneva, and became rector of the high school. He was a man of profound culture, a scholar among scholars, with a devotion to learning which neither misfortune, poverty, nor hunger could cool, — a man of a gentle temper and a liberality which raised him high above his age. This man in an evil day left the serene walks of literature to enter the theological arena. He maintained that Solomon's Song was an amatory poem, and not deserving a place in the Canon ; especially adverting to the seventh chapter. He added to his offence by doubting the truth of that horrible dogma of Calvin's by which he asserts that Jesus not only suffered corporeally on the cross, but went down into hell, and there in his soul endured the dreadful torments of condemned spirits. Calvin angrily expostulated with him ; and he retorted with warmth, severely reflecting upon the selfish and unjust course of Calvin and his colleagues. The council unceremoniously banished him. The closing scenes of Castellio's life are full of sadness. Poverty came upon him like an armed man. With eight children to support by his pen, he was forced to go with the poor of Basle to the side of the river, hook in hand, to fish up, if might be, driftwood to warm his desolate home. But all was unavailing. He perished of cold and hunger. Living in an age when the true principles of religious freedom were not so much as dreamed of by most, he needs no higher eulogium than has been bestowed upon him by an enthusiastic defender of Calvin in the guise of criticism : " Castellio continued all his life through the same noble but absurd defender of unlimited toleration." The language with which he replies to the attacks of his opponent and persecutor, who had not hesitated to heap upon him opprobrious epithets, and who had not respected even his misery, but had distorted that unhappy necessity which drove him to depend upon the river's bounty into thefts, is full of gentleness and dignity. " Were I as truly all these things as I really am not, yet it ill becomes so learned a man as yourself, the

teacher of so many others, to degrade so excellent an intellect by so foul and sordid abuse."

We shrink from the mention of the case of Michael Servetus. Every true friend of Calvin, every one who believes that he had some of the elements of the highest greatness and virtue, must wish that this foul spot could be erased from the record of the great Reformer's life. We shall not recall the details of the mournful and too familiar story. It concerns us here, not as it illustrates the unchristian temper and deep malignity of Calvin's spirit, but only as it bears on his claim to be regarded as the friend of liberty. It was never pretended that the noble Spaniard had in any way offended against the laws of Geneva. The heresies with which he was charged had been committed under another jurisdiction, and by a subject of the Church of Rome. The unfortunate man was a fugitive from the holds of the Inquisition, seeking shelter in a Protestant city from Romish persecution, when he fell into the hands of a new inquisitor, as remorseless as any who had wielded that office in the elder Church, and infinitely less justifiable.

Calvin's best defence is, that he acted in accordance with the spirit of the age, and that he did no more than many others would have done had they stood in his place. Whether this plea, in itself true, altogether explains his course, or whether his convictions of duty were made more ardent by personal dislike of one who had denied his authority, attacked his opinions, ridiculed his arguments, and doubted his character, we shall not undertake to decide.

The facts to which we have adverted prove incontestably that Calvin was neither in theory nor practice an intelligent supporter of freedom, whether political, religious, or personal. He had no sympathy with the human yearning for untrammelled liberty of thought and action; especially he had little faith in the masses, and by nature was intolerant of opposition. To call him a champion of liberty, or the father of republicanism, is simply to give the reins to the wildest vagaries of fancy, or to the largest license of eulogy. Yet we need not be harsh to the memory of the man. With him, as with many another, the private purpose and the public policy must be divided. Though we cannot place one who was so poorly en-

dowed on the side of his sympathies, and so largely endowed with severity and pride of opinion, in the first rank of Christian manhood, every candid mind must allow that it was from honest conviction that he sustained his doctrines by the scourge and the stake. We can readily understand how Calvin, whose conservative mind never felt the lust of theological roving, whose untempted experience bred but little charity for others' faults, should trample down with grim satisfaction the light and frivolous Genevans, and the lawless theologians, who put in peril his dearest notions of religious truth and church polity. So did those terrible Commonwealth men, before whom went down the delights of life, and under whose iron tramp kings and nobles and prelates alike were ground to the dust. But, whatever we may think of the man, and whatever apology we may find for his manifest faults, we cannot put out of sight his system, his inexorable system, a system which, so far as religious freedom was concerned, was not at all in advance of that Romanism which it superseded, — which, in respect to personal and civil rights, may vie with the most thorough despotism of modern or ancient times. If rational liberty in these later days has made any advance, it is not by help of John Calvin, but in spite of him; and his nominal followers, who have often been in the van of the good fight for man and his privileges, have really discarded the opinions of him by whose name they are known.

It would be unjust to deny that Calvin's career at Geneva had a fairer side, or to doubt that his despotism, intolerable as it was to any free mind, had its compensations. That it was a despotism which had its origin in intense religious convictions, that it was the despotism of a man of pure morals, not to say ascetic habits, is sufficient proof that it could not have been a base and vulgar despotism. Its aims may have been false, its measures unjust, its demands vexatious, and altogether inconsistent with the exercise of private rights; it may have denied all culture to one side of human nature, but it could not have fostered weakness or encouraged vice. If we could allow that a system can ever be permanently a blessing which runs counter to that Divine order by which human virtue must be the result of free choice and a voluntary practice of goodness, then

we might allow that in many respects his sway was beneficial to the native Genevans. This, at least, it did accomplish: it wrought an outward reform. While it destroyed their freedom, and abridged their pleasures, and despised the graces and the arts, it also scourged with unrelenting severity their vices; it enforced an unnatural sobriety, but at the same time gave to their lives more gravity, more vigor, and perhaps more worth. The old Geneva, whose genial life seemed in keeping with the merry Rhone that dances through its streets, was replaced by a new Geneva, whose stern and immovable life was patterned from the cold and icy Alpine peaks which overfrown it. From this stronghold, with none to dispute his sway, surrounded by a social life congenial alike to his feelings and convictions, Calvin toiled through his few remaining years with untiring assiduity, by word and by pen, for the extension of his influence, and the dissemination of his doctrinal views and theocratic order. Thither from every quarter came the exiles in the cause of religion, — men whose indomitable wills and fixed convictions had enabled them to dare the vengeance of power, men originally cast in iron moulds, and whose experience of hardship and oppression had shorn from them the gentler qualities, only to add concentrated energy, and who were thus fitted to receive from Genevan discipline, what it was eminently fitted to impart, fresh intensity of faith, a sterner interpretation of life, and courage hardened to adamant by its Christian fatalism and ascetic training. It would be exaggeration to assert that Calvin moulded these men and sent them forth with his stamp upon them to do his work; for they came to him in the maturity of their strength, with characters brought by a similar experience into sympathy with his own. But he deepened what was already profound, and confirmed what indeed was not wavering. To say what in substance has often been said, that he created the Puritan character, would be equally an exaggeration. That character, like his own, in its virtues and its defects, in its stubborn hardness and its remorseless severity, in its clear apprehension of heavenly things and its unjust depreciation of earthly things, was a proper result of the intellectual and spiritual struggles, the antagonisms, the perils and the persecutions of the times.

But he of all others consolidated the elements of that character, gave it a definite expression, and so provided for its permanent and increased efficiency. Whether, on the whole, this influence was for man's final good; whether this organized Protestant crusade against free inquiry was a benefit to humanity; or whether it had been better that these great questions, from which man cannot forever shrink, had been then and there pursued to their legitimate conclusions,—are idle questions,—questions which every one will answer according to his private prejudices. This point alone is settled, that among the mightiest of the forces which have affected modern history Calvin takes his place.

The hour was at hand which must come alike to the strong and the weak. His constitution, never vigorous, had been sapped in early life by devotion to study; in later years by manifold labors and the fierce conflicts amid which his maturer years were spent. In 1561 he was forced to sit while preaching. In 1564 this weakness had so increased, that on the 6th of February he preached his last discourse. But he gave himself no rest, persisting to the end, against every remonstrance, in dictating to an amanuensis, saying, "Would you have the Lord find me idle?" On the 27th of March he was carried to the council-chamber; and with bared head and faltering voice thanked them for all their favors, saying, "I feel this is the last time I shall appear in this place." Yet he lingered another month, and on the 28th of April, with unwonted tenderness, gave his last charges to his fellow-laborers. His sufferings, still prolonged, though acute and agonizing, he bore with uncomplaining fortitude, only at intervals lifting his eyes to heaven, and murmuring, "How long, O Lord?" On the 27th of May peacefully he resigned his soul to that God to whose service, with stern and awful sincerity, he had given his best strength.

It is plain to see what constituted the groundwork of his character. He had a dogmatic rather than a catholic nature. He had none of that tendency which deliberates long, and determines only when every side has been duly examined, every point considered, and every difficulty weighed. Espousing the opinions which his prejudices or reason recommended,

he applied to their defence all the resources of an affluent learning and an acute and powerful logic, until his ideas deepened into convictions rigid and unalterable, and a contrary opinion seemed not so much intellectual error as moral perversity; and when we add to this dogmatic mind a will despotic and remorseless, which would not spare himself and which would not spare those who stood in his path, we have all we need to explain what is painful in his career. To his mind, his own ideas were but the earthly expressions of the Divine ideas; and he who doubted or opposed them was wilfully blind or obstinately rebellious, and worthy of any severity of punishment. In reading the annals of his conflicts one looks in vain for the marks of that doubt or hesitation or pity which in the hour of victory spares the vanquished foe. Nor did he spare himself. Called as he felt himself to be by a voice from heaven to do God's work, he abandoned his legal studies just as they promised their highest rewards. With a frail body, full of disease and anguish, he undertook superhuman labors. Sick or well, at home or in exile, in safety or in peril, he did his work. By his literary labors, enough for one life, by his correspondence, so wide that it seemed a sufficient task for one mind, by his weighty counsels and arguments at the solemn deliberations of the Reformers, by his heavy cares as head of the church and adviser of the state, by his manifold parochial labors and his incessant preaching of the word, he proved that, while granting no freedom to others, he asked for himself no rest.

Of his mental resources there can be but one opinion. With a mind of wonderful fecundity, prompt, vigorous, acute and logical, and expanded by a varied culture,—with a style pointed, perspicuous, and weighty, equally good for attack or defence or illustration of a solemn theme,—he maintained the place of a great intellectual leader in an age profuse of great men. Cold and harsh, with a nature deficient in kindly sympathy, he inspires no sympathy in others. It is one of the most striking things about his history, that not one anecdote illustrative of his private and domestic life has been preserved; nothing that lets you into the heart of the man, no glimpse of the inner genuine self. He had nothing of Luther's genial

humor, his quaint rough talk and gushing affection ; no touching revelations of the foibles, doubts, struggles, triumphs of a great but tried spirit, all warm from the throbbing heart. Nothing of this in Calvin. All hope and fear, all joy and anguish, are concealed behind the sober and formal drapery of public life. Yet perhaps we do him in this respect imperfect justice. Within a narrow circle of friendship he seems to have displayed warm and even tender feelings, and to have attached men to him. Beza, a man of large powers, cherished for him a respect which bordered on idolatry. And few things could be more touching than the sight of Farel in his old age, just trembling on the verge of the grave, insisting upon coming to Geneva to look once more into Calvin's face, and to grasp once more Calvin's hand. In some of his familiar letters, in his counsels to the erring, in his condolence with the suffering, there is found a grave sincerity and honest kindness, revealing another aspect of his character which we regret that we are not permitted to contemplate more frequently.

He was a man of godly sincerity ; a very stern man ; a man utterly regardless of what we call human rights ; a most unlovely man in some respects, but not a man devoted to selfish aims, as appears from his honorable poverty and stainless purity of life ; a man of great virtues and great faults, — faults which in part were the errors of the time, in part the excess of an austere nature and bodily disease, in part, too, springing from the frailties and passions of our common humanity ; a great man, whose power for good or evil was larger than belongs to ordinary manhood, and whose signature was written with an iron hand upon his age. As we gaze upon the features which art has preserved, — those features worn by disease, ploughed by thought and care, and on every lineament bearing the traces of an inflexible will, — if we cannot feel sympathy, we feel respect. We cannot call him saint, we cannot sympathize with the opinions for whose diffusion he labored, or approve the methods by which he sought to compel assent ; we must hope that his influence will continue to grow less in the future, as in the past ; but while remembering his reverence toward God, his allegiance to conscience, his fidelity in labor, his moral purity, we can with the Church Universal rejoice in his virtues.

ART. VII.—INTERCOURSE WITH JAPAN.

1. *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan, in the Years 1857, '58, '59.* By LAWRENCE OLIPHANT, Esq., Private Secretary to Lord Elgin. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1860. 8vo. pp. 645.
2. *Japan as it was and is.* By RICHARD HILDRETH. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1855.
3. *Correspondence with Her [Britannic] Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. 1860. London: Printed by Harrison and Sons.

THERE is no longer any pretence that Japan is an unknown country, and the Japanese an unknown people to us. There is more danger among well-educated people—somewhat overwhelmed by the fresh information offered to them on this subject, and the fresh arrangements of the old stories that our fathers were familiar with—of the opposite pretence, that we already know all about this land and people that we ought to know, or should know if we had only improved our opportunities of reading the narratives of Pinto, Kaemfer, Thunberg, Titsingh, Gulownin, Siebold, and the rest, or even paid proper attention, when they came to us, to the elaborate works of Dr. Hawks and Mr. Hildreth. Everybody now knows that the Japanese are not Chinese, is quite familiar with the theory of the “happy despatch,” and considers it a perfectly natural, or at least commonplace affair, that the Japanese ladies who have had children blacken their teeth with dye-stuffs, while those who have not like to make their teeth look whiter by keeping their lips red by chewing the betel-nut. Those who are more business-like in their inquiries know that it is forty-nine hundred miles on a great circle from San Francisco to Simoda, and less than a thousand from Hakodadi to the mouth of the Amoor; and have settled according to their own views of financial economy the question of dollars and itzebous. There is, too, a very general impression, growing out of this extent of very general knowledge, that a great thing has been done in “opening the ports” of Japan,

so long closed, and connecting her, by ties of reciprocal benefits, with such a progressive country as our own.

The amount of this knowledge is gratifying, but the resulting impression is a true one only about to the extent that this knowledge is accurate, definite, and practical. The "great thing" is begun, but it is not done. What this great thing is, we shall have hereafter to examine. At present it is enough to say, that the co-operation of two different forms of civilization for a common purpose, much more their amalgamation into a common civilization, is a work not of a day, or even of a generation. We have got far enough to see and acknowledge that the Japanese are a civilized people in some sort, if not in our sort. We find that they are a civilized people, probably numbering more than thirty million souls. We see that it would be a "great thing" to make this people work together with our thirty millions, where our civilization is the more perfect, and to let them teach us to work as they do, and with them, where theirs is the more perfect. We do not however see habitually, as yet, how slow a process that must be by which the mass of either population is to be affected by the limited contact now connecting the edges, so to speak, of the two. We may make some estimate, without statistics, of the degree and amount in which our own people have thus far been affected by the intercourse of the two nations, and may calculate what that effect will probably be in a series of years. If we suppose, then, on the other hand, that our influence upon Japan, resulting from the same intercourse, is, or may become, even tenfold greater than this, it must be confessed that we should still leave the Japan of 1866 very much where we found it in 1856. Our own feelings with regard to their habits and customs may show us how little likely they are to take ours for law and gospel, and we shall begin to see that a practical union of the nations must be born of time rather than treaties.

Writing just at the moment that all our readers are either seeing the Japanese Embassy, or expecting to see it, or reading in the newspapers the accounts of its progress, we may be excused for asking how the two civilizations compare, as mere civilizations. Our nation meant to be civil to these dis-

tinguished visitors. We submit to little compulsion, but, so far as it could compel, our government has tried to make us civil. But what have we done about it, whether as matter of discipline for ourselves, or example to our guests, over whom we are in the habit of assuming a superiority in cultivation, while we sneer at the same assumption on their part? We have had reporters in their bedchambers; we have jostled them in the streets; we have cheated them in the shops; we have crowded in front of them at entertainments made in their honor, so that they could not see the insignificant shows given them in places of comfort and repose; we have treated them like a raree-show, instead of treating them like a company of gentlemen, who desire to see rather than to be seen, accredited to us by a sovereign prince who represents a nation of as many people as our own.

Now, all this — the cheating aside — does *not* arise from a want of respect, and it is a mark of interest, and an expression of popular recognition which has doubtless been appreciated by the ambassadors. But it does arise from a want of *civility*. Like the donkey that jumped into his master's lap because that was a thing for which the spaniel was petted, we have "overwhelmed" our guests with "civilities," such as our rude taste has dictated. We need not say what treatment a real and true civility would have suggested as proper for such guests, because we believe that there is scarcely an individual among those who have been the most annoying to them who would not be able to indicate its general character, and who would not have managed to achieve it, if he had been offering the hospitality of his own house. As individuals, the people who thronged upon the privacy of the nation's guests, stared at them, fingered their dresses, talked about them before their faces, and surrounded them in chattering groups during their solemn meeting with the chief magistrate of the nation, — as individuals these people are civil enough, and will beg pardon if they brush against the hem of the garment even of those whom they think inferior in social position to themselves. It is as "the people" that we have claimed the right to be uncivil. McDonald, a young son of Oregon, attempted to explain this right to the Japanese some time ago. They had taken

him prisoner, and, while questioning him about the rank of Commander Glynn of our navy, told him to give "the order of succession from the highest chief." He replied that the highest chief was *the people*; but he adds in his account of the matter that this they "could not comprehend." They may now find it difficult to comprehend the relative rank of people and President, and to discriminate between "populace" and "people"; but we trust that they may not carry away the opinion, which would surely be an erroneous one, that people, any more than President, intended them any discourtesy. But whatever they may think, we must confess to ourselves that we have not shown off our *civilization* to any great advantage, and we may judge from the event how difficult it will be for us to study and understand their civilization, where in its nature and mode of expression it differs from our own.

And so, leaving the consideration of what the visit of the Embassy may have taught either nation of the civilization of the other, with the comforting reflection that we may yet grant them, in our judgments of them, the charity we so much need for ourselves, we may return to the general proposition that the "Japan question" offers us the problem of two distinct and separate civilizations, — each properly called so, as having emerged from barbarism in its own way and to a certain extent, — which under our recent treaties and present hopes are to be drawn into closer relations and combinations, with the hope of producing mutual good. In any attempt to solve this problem by declaring what the new relations and combinations ought to be, and defining beforehand their probable results, it must not be forgotten that the experiment has been tried, and pretty thoroughly tried, by Christian nations before. Indeed, perhaps history has never more perfectly exhibited to us a repetition of the same motives, applied to the same purposes, by the same parties, upon the same scene of action, after the first effort had been completed and its results had become insignificant for more than two centuries of years. The Portuguese trade with Japan began about 1548, and soon became very active. The Dutch trade began in 1609, and the English, although their trade with the islands, for various reasons, was never very large or profitable, obtained a much more favorable

commercial treaty in 1613, than they are likely to obtain again. To show the nature of the freedom of trade granted at this early time, we will quote the copy of the English "Privileges of Trade," obtained by Captain Saris, October 8, 1613, which do not differ much from the documents under which the Portuguese and Dutch trade was conducted. They are published in Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, with a fac-simile of the Japanese : —

"1. We give free license to the subjects of the king of Great Britain, viz. Sir Thomas Smith, Governor, and the Company of the East India merchants and adventurers, forever, safely to come into any of the ports of our Empire of Japan, with their ships and merchandise, without any hindrance to them or their goods, and to abide, buy, sell, and barter, according to their own manner with all nations; to tarry here as long as they think good, and to depart at their pleasures.

"2. We grant unto them freedom of custom for all such merchandises as either now they have brought or hereafter they shall bring into our kingdoms, or shall from hence transport to any foreign part; and do authorize those ships that hereafter shall arrive and come from England to proceed to present sale of their commodities, without further coming or sending up to our court.

"3. If any of their ships shall happen to be in danger of shipwreck, we will our subjects not only to assist them, but that such part of ship and goods as shall be saved be returned to their captain or cape-merchant, or their assigns; and that they shall or may build one house or more for themselves in any part of our Empire where they shall think fittest, and at their departure to make sale thereof at their pleasure.

"4. If any of the English, merchants or other, shall depart this life within our dominions, the goods of the deceased shall remain at the disposal of the cape-merchant; and all offences committed by them shall be punished by the said cape-merchant, according to his discretion, and our laws to take no hold of their persons or goods.

"5. We will that ye our subjects, trading with them for any of their commodities, pay them for the same according to agreement, without delay, or return their wares again unto them.

"6. For such commodities as they have now brought, or shall hereafter bring, fitting for our service and proper use, we will that no arrest be made thereof, but that the price be made with the cape-merchant, according as they may sell to others, and present payment upon the delivery of the goods.

"7. If, in discovery of other countries for trade, and return of their

ships, they should need men or victuals, we will that ye our subjects furnish them for their money as their need shall require.

"8. And that, without further passport, they shall and may set out upon the discovery of Yesso, or any other part in and about our Empire."

But trade, although thus abundantly welcomed by the Japanese, and although, as we shall see, it was made enormously profitable to those who dealt with them, was not the only motive which led the Western natives to their shores. No intelligent reader is ignorant of the zeal and success with which, beginning with the renowned François Xavier, the Roman Catholic missionaries attempted the conversion of the Japanese to Christianity, or needs to be told the story of the persecutions, the martyrdoms, the banishment, and the massacres by which the fruits of their labors were at last completely destroyed. Xavier landed in Japan in 1549. The Catholic cause reached its highest success before the beginning of the next century. From the first, it was found that the cultivated minds of the people, accustomed to the study of religious matters, was more easily and more effectually impressed than can ever be the case with an ignorant and essentially barbarous population. This may account for much of the rapid progress, particularly with princes and those of a higher rank, which the historians of the Order of Jesuits ascribe to the influence of actual miracles, which they affirm to have been performed. Mr. Oliphant states this well in the following passage, which we copy for the sake of the anecdote it embraces, probably taken from *Le Père de Charlevoix* :—

"Whatever may have been the means of proselytism which Xavier employed, of the marvellous results there can be no doubt; and it is worthy of the attention of those interested in the conversion of the heathen to consider how far the success which attends their efforts may depend upon the nature and amount of the cultivation which the soil has received before the seed is sown. There can be no doubt that the imaginative Japanese, hearing of Christianity for the first time, would receive it in very different spirit from the untamed New-Zealander, or a calmly-sceptical Chinaman. Nor was the faith thus implanted in the breasts of some hundreds of thousands of converts a mere nominal creed, to be swept away by the first wave of persecution. It not only

furnished them with courage, but with arguments with which to meet their persecutors. The answer of a neophyte, who was asked how he would respond to his sovereign if ordered to abjure Christianity, is thus recorded: 'Sire, would you wish me to remain faithful, and even to preserve that submission which it is seemly for a subject to feel towards his king? would you wish me to manifest zeal for your service on all occasions on which I can be of use, so that no private interest should cause me to forget what I owe to you? would you wish me to be meek, temperate, and loving, full of charity toward my equals, — that I should patiently suffer all the ill-treatment to which I may be exposed? Command me, then, to remain a Christian, for it is from a Christian alone that all this can be reasonably expected.' "

Many Japanese nobles and princes embraced the Christian faith; but in some provinces the proselytes were at various times subjected, even before the final crisis, to severe persecutions. The national government as such does not appear to have interfered directly for many years. It is reported, however, on Portuguese authority, of Nobanunga, an important and successful temporal Emperor, who died in 1582, that, when he was applied to by the bonzes or priests of all the sects to expel the Jesuit monks from the country, he gave a remarkable exhibition of toleration. He asked how many different religions there were in Japan, and was told that there were thirty-five. "Well," he replied, "when thirty-five sects can be tolerated, I think we can get along with thirty-six; leave the strangers in peace." But this permission did not avail much, or last long. The position of the Portuguese throughout the country, and particularly in Nagasaki, where for a long time, under a Christian prince, they had been consolidating a large religious as well as commercial interest, was probably so strong as to be considered dangerous to the Empire, and their rivals and enemies, the Spaniards, spared no pains to point this out to the native chiefs. Just before the end of the sixteenth century these influences induced the Emperor to issue a general edict against the Jesuits, and for many years the missionaries and the converted Japanese were more or less harassed; but in 1614 a still more stringent edict was promulgated, banishing all the priests and missionaries, compelling the destruction of all their houses and churches, and the renunciation of the Christian faith by all Japanese.

Under this edict the establishment was finally broken up. Since the year 1587, a college, a novitiate, two seminaries, two hundred and fifty churches, and many schools had been destroyed, and some three hundred missionaries scattered. Most of them were actually sent to Macao, although some returned in disguise; and although the persecution never in the mean time ceased, it was reported, two years afterwards, that more than fifty ecclesiastics were concealed in the islands. Then a new monarch took hold of the work with still greater earnest, and, shortly after, every practical result of Xavier's enterprise was crushed out of the land, although there had been at one time as many as 300,000 converts. Mr. Hildreth well sums up the history and fixes the epoch of its close, when he says:—

“It is not necessary to give implicit credit to all which the contemporary letters and memoirs related, and which the Catholic historians and martyrologists have repeated, of the ferocity of the persecutors, the heroism of the sufferers, and especially of the miracles wrought by their relics. Yet there can be no question either of the fury of the persecution, or of the lofty spirit of martyrdom in which it was unavailingly met. Catholicism lingered on a few years longer in Japan; yet it must be considered as having already received its death-blow in that same year in which a few Puritan pilgrims landed at Plymouth, to plant the obscure seeds of a new and still growing Protestant empire.”

It is proper to say, that not only was it known for many years afterwards that there were Catholics cherishing their faith in secret in Japan, but that up to 1707 there were found Catholic missionaries, from time to time, desirous of visiting the faithful there, to encourage them if they could, or to become martyrs in the cause. Many who attempted this are known to have been at once seized and executed. We have only attempted to describe as briefly as possible the inception, progress, and close of the general enterprise.

During these years the trade in Japan of the various Western nations, the commencement of which we have mentioned, shared the successes, the difficulties, the dangers, and at last almost shared the downfall, of the Catholic cross. The two matters appear, however, to have been kept very distinct from each other in the Japanese mind, and trade and religion to a certain extent both flourished and both fell from causes that

each brought with itself. The trade of the Portuguese of course ceased in 1638, when they were actually expelled from the country; the Dutch were at the same time put under great restrictions, and were subjected to more and more inconveniences and deprivations, until their business became really insignificant, both in amount and in profits, nearly a hundred years ago. We do not propose to follow in detail the fortunes of this trade of these two nations, or that of their respective rivals,—the Spaniards, thorns in the side of the Portuguese, the English acting the same part for the Dutch, neither deriving much direct benefit themselves, except when they actually captured a richly laden ship by force,—although its history is fraught with interest on its own account; but some of its general features must be examined by those who wish to do again in the middle of the nineteenth century what was so successfully done once in the sixteenth.

During the most prosperous period of this former trade,—most prosperous for the Western adventurers who were seeking their fortunes from Japan,—the precious metals were the only merchandise which these adventurers took in exchange for the goods they carried thither. For the whole ninety years of the Portuguese trade they took nothing else, except indeed articles which were received as presents in exchange for their presents, most of which were of a character to be sold in other countries. The character of this trade, after it was systematized into the course which it followed for a large part of this time,—the despatch of one ship a year, “the great carack of Macao,”—is thus described by Ralph Fitch, an Englishman, in 1588. “When the Portuguese go from Macao in China to Japan, they carry much white silk, gold, musk, and porcelains, and they bring from thence nothing but silver. They have a great carack, which goeth thither every year, and she bringeth from thence every year about six hundred thousand crusados; and all this silver from Japan, and two hundred crusados more in silver, which they bring yearly out of India, they employ to great advantage in China; and they bring from thence gold, musk, silk, porcelains, and many other things very costly and gilded.” Another adventurer of the same day, whose account, like the above, may be found in Hakluyt, gives the following

view of the ratio of profits: "I can certify you of one thing, that two hundred ducats in Spanish commodities, and some Flemish wools, which I carried with me thither, I made worth fourteen hundred ducats there in that country." But it must be remembered that in those days, what with the dangers of unknown seas and the additional risk from pirates, it was expected that about one ship out of three in this trade would be lost.

It will be seen that, though the profits were large, the amount of business was small, judged by the sums now invested in commerce; but it is clear that this continual drain of silver must have become very noticeable in Japan itself, which depended upon its own mines for its currency. The Portuguese alone, in these ninety years, by a low estimate, took away nearly fifty millions of dollars. The Dutch carried off gold. Their trade began later, but had existed thirty-two years when it was first restricted, and they were shut up in Desima in 1641. The year before that, their gold export was estimated at \$3,200,000. Their former average annual sales are stated at about \$2,400,000, giving for the period named a specie export of seventy-two millions of dollars. It was at about this time that, owing either to the scarcity of silver caused by the Portuguese drain, or by a greater activity in the mining of gold, the latter metal became very cheap, and the Dutch were able to purchase gold kobangs, containing at that time about as much pure gold as our eagle, for six taels, worth about as many dollars, in silver. The gold was sold to advantage on the coast of Coromandel, and was carried off at great profit at the rate of 100,000 kobangs a year.

In the mean time a trade with China sprang up, beginning after the accession of the Mantchoo dynasty in 1644, which was of a more natural character, consisting in some degree of an exchange of commodities, and the intercourse arising from it was such as to leave an impression upon the literature and religion, and perhaps upon the character, of the Japanese to this day. In 1684 the trade employed two hundred junks annually. The Chinese, however, carried off much silver, and its exportation was forbidden in 1671, at a time when the Dutch, who could have well afforded even to *import* it to pay for their gold, cared nothing for the restriction.

The foreign trade was now entirely in the hands of the Dutch and Chinese,—for our readers will hardly consider some commerce with Loo-Choo as foreign trade,—but was watched with great jealousy, and rapidly reduced by government measures. The Chinese were restricted before 1740 by edict to twenty junks a year, and soon after to ten junks. The Dutch were compelled to reduce their business by a curtailment of its profits. The value of the gold coin was from time to time so depreciated, although they were obliged to exchange it for equal amounts of silver or goods, that it at last became a profitless article of commerce. After 1721 the Dutch company only required two ships annually for their trade, and after 1790 they were limited to one. In the early part of this century, the European wars often prevented their receiving any vessels at all, and in several instances their consignments were brought in under the American flag, much to the bewilderment of the Japanese, who were then in high dudgeon with the English, and could not understand why the Dutch traders should employ seamen who spoke that language. Up to the changes in 1743 the gross profits of the Dutch trade had annually averaged, for thirty years, something more than two hundred thousand dollars. Those changes brought the profits down to eighty thousand dollars, which was about the cost of maintaining the establishment on the island of Desima. The latest account of the Dutch trade which we have at hand is that of 1846, when the whole trade was so limited that the imports were valued at \$92,446, and the exports at \$220,997. The Chinese trade still remains at its ten annual vessels, and is said to be a monopoly in the hands of Japanese officials.

The view which the Japanese took of the trade to which foreigners invited them, is pretty apparent from their course of action with regard to it, which we have thus hurriedly sketched. But we have evidence from the pen of one of their own statesmen of the nature of these views. Fitzingh, in his "*Illustrations of Japan*," quotes a report on the "*Origin of the Riches of Japan*," written in 1708, by Arrai Tsikuge, a prime-minister of the Emperor Tsonna Yosi. This Japanese states, as if from official sources, the gold exported from Nagasaki from 1611 to 1706 at 6,192,600 kobangs, and the

silver in the same time at 112,268,700 taels. (At the date mentioned, for a very rough calculation, the kobang may be considered equivalent to an eagle, and the tael to a dollar.) He then says: "With the exception of medicines, we can dispense with everything that is brought to us from abroad. The stuffs and other commodities are of no real benefit to us. All the gold, silver, and copper extracted from the mines during the reign of Ogoshō-sama, and since his time, is gone, and what is still more to be regretted, for things we could do well without." And he adds: "There goes out of the Empire annually about one hundred and fifty kobangs, or a million and a half in ten years. It is therefore of the highest importance to the public prosperity to put a stop to these exportations, which will end in draining us entirely. Nothing is thought of but the procuring of foreign productions, expensive stuffs, elegant utensils, and other things not known in the good old times." This language may show, that in the time when the last and crushing restrictions were being put upon the foreign commerce of Japan, it was the object of some of her leading men, and probably was the policy which led to the acts of her government, to prevent the unreasonable drain of specie from the country. It will also be seen, on the other hand, that the people were desirous to buy foreign products, and that not only "expensive stuffs and elegant utensils," but other foreign "productions and commodities," found a ready market so long as they could be legitimately obtained.

We have been thus particular in making even a short and dry summary of this history of the beginning, decline, and fall of the former attempt to introduce the Christian religion and a foreign commerce into Japan, because we are now beginning exactly the same experiment. The experiment, indeed, cannot be said to be the same, without assuming that the Japanese are in the main the same people, with the same habits, traits, character, the same government and institutions even, now as then. But that this is the case may very properly be assumed, with a very small margin for the *mutatis mutandis*. Indeed, in culling extracts from books describing the manners and customs, or the form and policy, of the government of that empire, one must be very careful not to mix his papers to-

gether, or he will find it hard to distinguish the accounts given by Pinto (his general veracity now firmly established), in the sixteenth century, from those of Saris in the seventeenth, Kaemfer in the eighteenth, and the latest information given by the reports of the expeditions of Commodore Perry and Lord Elgin. There was always curiosity for new knowledge, and aptness to make use of it; but in the long years that have passed since Europeans knew them, this new knowledge and ready adaptation have made no change in the ordinary, general, and characteristic customs of the people. The description of the city of Yedo, as given by Don Rodrigo de Vivero, in 1608, of the formalities of his reception there, and the conduct of the people in the streets, is so much like the description of the same things by Mr. Oliphant, who accompanied Lord Elgin two years ago, that we should like to copy the two, could we spare space for the repetition.

At the time of the former experiment the Japanese received the new-comers, both the missionaries and the traders, with, on the whole, a welcoming embrace. They expected, or some of them did, to derive some advantage from the intercourse. They managed it for a time so that the strangers not only expected, but found, their advantage. The Jesuits created a large and important and social influence, centring in a new and growing city and state, and the Portuguese and Dutch established a trade rich in its amount for that day, and unrivalled in its ratio of profits in the history of commerce. And this prosperity,—now greater and now less, but always success rather than failure,—in the midst of the mutual opposition of various native princes, and always checked by the jealous rivalry and almost continual warfare of the Western powers, lasted for a longer period than is yet covered by the history of our own Republic. It failed at last, because the Japanese were yet strong enough to drive out from their system an element which was foreign to it, and which in nearly ninety years they could not assimilate with their own. The experiment of making the Japanese adopt European customs on the one hand, or of mingling and amalgamating the two sets of customs on the other hand, had a fair trial, and failed. The Japanese constitution might have been expected to succumb under the treat-

ment, but it threw off the repugnant ingredient in its life. The third end that might have come from the experiment, nobody expected then, or expects now; and that would have been if Europe had become *Japanned*, instead of Japan becoming Europeanized. The result shows that the one event was about as probable as the other, and may satisfy us, to this day, that by missionaries with new creeds, or traders with new merchandise, we cannot expect, whatever else we may do, to Europeanize or to Americanize Japan.

In the old times the success of the Western enterprise was dependent in no sense upon force. The Portuguese foothold in Japan was not obtained like that of the Spaniards upon this continent. The first-comers there entered that rich Oriental domain as pedlers and mendicant friars. If afterwards they tried to maintain themselves by force, they did not attempt to bring support from home in the struggle, and they were finally compelled to yield to superior military power. In our recent intercourse we have added this new element to the problem. Each so-called civilized nation that has made or sought a treaty with Japan has sent its ambassador armed to the teeth. When the commissioner asked Commodore Perry, who had said he should return in some months for the answer to the President's letter, whether he should return "with all the ships," — the prompt reply, at which civilization smiles in triumph, was, "Yes, probably with several more." Mr. John Quincy Adams's doctrine, that the Japanese have no right to exclude themselves from the rest of the world, and that we owe it to ourselves as well as to them to give them a lesson or two, — taking pay for our tuition at our own terms, — is only an expression of a very general feeling, not only of Yankeedom, but of John Bullism. If we have changed the nature of the old experiment at all, it is by making the authority and armed strength of nations an essential part of it. If the horse refuses to drink, we will, at least this time, compel him to come to the trough. If there was an abstract incompatibility which broke off the old relations between Europe and Japan, and if that had left behind it a jealousy and a dread of all foreign intercourse, which had become a prejudice of the rulers and the fixed policy of the government, there could be no better

way to heighten both of these obstacles to our plans than the assumption of superiority and the show of force. Nobody, however, really expects that we shall shoot ourselves into the good graces of the Japanese from the muzzles of Dahlgrens. Those who think the most of the importance of making a large military demonstration at the opening of our intercourse, believe that it is to be prosecuted by the arts of peace, and that, if there is to be any actual success, it must come from an honest attempt to do good to our new neighbors. Even without the threatening look, however, those neighbors find it difficult to recognize the promised good. It is just what they have been taught religiously to shun. It is not merely the apathetic dread of foreigners which some contented and newly-discovered islanders might feel,—it is the resolution handed down to them by their fathers, who had dallied with the temptation until it had nearly overcome them and destroyed their nationality, and who found that at least two generations of their race were occupied in extirpating the evil. Any new approaches should be made them in such a manner as to show them that their nationality is not to be invaded. Not more carefully should we treat the “peculiar institution,” if we have carried a few cases of shoes to sell in Charleston, than we should avoid giving any impression, or indeed entertaining the opinion or encouraging the feeling, that the right to reside and trade at a Japanese port is to give us a right to interfere in Japanese politics or obtain an influence in Japanese society. The thing may come about. By the time that they vote in Japan at all, we think it not unlikely there will be those, born citizens of the United States, willing to become naturalized citizens of that empire. But until we have the right to vote, we can hardly expect their rulers to grant to our citizens a larger share in the management of their affairs than they grant to their own.

Some of the obstacles of this nature against an early development of trade there, are thus set forth in a recent despatch (September 20, 1859) from the British Minister at Yedo:—

“The government here is oligarchic rather than monarchic. An oligarchy composed of all the hereditary Damios, proprietors of three fourths of the soil, and with many attributes of sovereignty attaching

to their fiefs, constitutes a great Council of the nation, *en permanence*, since one half are always at Yedo. The Tycoon is little more than their nominee and executive; and for the last generation or two, at least, the choice has always fallen on the candidate related to, and supported by, three or four of the most influential Damios.* Thus constituting a permanent Council, they not only have a determining influence over the action and policy of the Tycoon's government, but are in a position to exercise an independent, and, to a great degree, an irresponsible, power throughout the empire, each in their several states or territories. As chief proprietors of the soil, its products and the various channels of commerce through their states are inevitably subject to their control. They hold, moreover, a power of life and death over all within their territorial jurisdiction; and the administration of justice is equally in their hands, uncontrolled, except in so far as established laws and customs may place any check on the arbitrary will of the Prince or his delegates.

"The way in which these conditions may work to the prejudice of any natural development of trade and the resources of the country under existing treaties, must be sufficiently obvious. Assume the whole of these territorial magnates or Damios, with feudal jurisdiction in their respective territories, to be opposed in principle, by convictions based upon political considerations of its impolicy, and still more by deep-rooted prejudice, to any freedom of intercourse with foreigners, or extension of their relations with European powers, and it will be evident that, independent of all action of theirs collectively, as a council, upon the government which they in effect place in office, their influence individually in their own territories will amply suffice to prevent the success of any other policy. Yedo and the two ports of Nagasaki and Hakodadi are severally in the Imperial domain, but the domains of the Damios intercept all the lines of commerce to and from the interior and the great centres of trade or produce. No trade, therefore, to any extent, can take development without their consent.

"They have but to will it, for instance, to prevent coal being either worked or despatched to the ports. The coal mines are all their prop-

* If Mr. Alcock means that — as a lawyer might say — three or four *certain* Damios have controlled the election, there is great reason to doubt his statement. If he means only that generally three or four leading nobles, not always the same, have controlled it, we may well take the proposition for truth. It seems, indeed, probable, that the governing power has been exercised, at least for the time he limits it, by a few leading families. We have no reason to suppose, however, that there is any permanent alliance for this purpose, more than in other governments where an aristocracy have great influence in executive affairs.

erty, so far as I can learn. So of copper, lead, silver, and all the other sources of mineral wealth, in which there is good reason for believing the country abounds. Although these may not be all in their possession, yet their influence will always suffice to prevent their being worked to advantage, or for the benefit of the foreign trade. To prevent silk being cultivated beyond the native demand, or vegetable wax, and various other natural products which might feed the foreign market, must to them be easy work. Still more easy will it be to the Damios in the provinces to prevent such free circulation of foreign coins in the interior as can alone render foreign trade independent of the action of government for the supply of Japanese coin; and in great measure above the fluctuations or arbitrary changes to which the monetary system of Japan appears to be subject from time to time, according to the policy or wants of the government."

Have we gone to such length into the consideration of the past, and the examination of existing obstacles, for the purpose of discouraging the new effort? By no means; we do not even share the desponding anticipations, which we have just quoted, of the Hon. Mr. Alcock. We only wish to examine what are the real "conditions" (as he would have it) of the position. He goes so far as to suppose "the whole of the Damios" to be opposed in principle, &c. to any freedom of intercourse with foreigners. Such a thing is not to be supposed, even for the sake of argument; for if we did not know, as we do, that they are not united upon this very question, we might know, *a priori*, that the rival princes in the oligarchy, the rival politicians of all classes in the state, must be divided upon many questions; and, even if they do not immediately make a direct issue upon it, must have different opinions and views and opposing interests with regard to this. He supposes that they will go so far as to stop agricultural production for the purpose of choking commerce at its source, because they have heretofore depreciated the value of their coinage to prevent its exportation. But they early made the distinction, which political economists of other nations have not been ashamed to make and defend, between gold and silver as articles of export and all other merchantable goods. They went further, and maintained that they had no right to exhaust their mineral resources, "meant for the Japanese people for

all time," for the benefit of one generation, while they admitted that the yearly produce of the land was theirs to sell.

There can be little doubt that there is an active, if not a large party in Japan, desirous of foreign intercourse, but there is less doubt that the whole nation are steadfastly opposed to foreign dictation, and jealous of any assumption of foreign superiority. They do not yet know what they want of us, any more than we know what we want from them. But they feel as we do, that there may be, and ought to be, a mutual benefit from a reciprocal interchange of knowledge and industry. This is to be brought about, probably, neither by a show of force nor by an attempt to convince either party by reasoning or example that it is materially to alter its own forms to accommodate them to the habits of the other. The work is a slow one. We must both feel our way, trying to sell what we want to sell, to buy what we can afford to buy, telling all that we know, and hearkening for all the good that we can hear. To us it can make no difference just now what is the name of the existing Tycoon, or by what methods and ceremonies his successor will be selected and inaugurated, when he shall cease to rule. Indeed, it is much more to our purpose to know enough of their language to explain to their wealthier classes, face to face, how good for them in many months of the year would be Clinton carpets, and coats of Lowell woollens. What we need for ourselves is to see that this admixture of two wide-apart and distinct civilizations must be made without the overthrow of either, and must be a gradual and natural one, not a forced and spasmodic one. For them we are apt to wish for more confidence in us, more readiness to take our offers as those of pure friendship. Can we really blame their distrust? It may be applied in places where it seems absurd to us, but it is clear that, in the opening of such an intercourse, the caution which will be safe enough for them must run to the verge of suspicion.

This new intercourse clearly cannot be based entirely upon our commercial habits, and also it cannot be based entirely upon theirs. "The Christian rule" furnishes the only theoretical basis necessary; but, although nobody contradicts it, it is very difficult to get it applied. Just now the troubles between Japanese and foreigners, which have amounted nearly

to a stoppage of trade, may be traced directly to the improper and indecent treatment by the Western merchants of the Japanese officials. Here is an instance from an official document. The Japanese had agreed to furnish itzebous, to be used in trade, in exchange for dollars, as fast as they could procure the representative coin, dividing among the applicants daily the sums to be distributed, in the ratio of the number of dollars offered by each. Both parties knew that the itzebous were to be used to purchase gold for exportation, although that was strictly forbidden. Accordingly the British merchants at Kanagawa, (we fear also those of other nations, but the British government only exposes the conduct of its own subjects) presented such applications as these:—

“*To the Officers of the Treasury, Kanagawa:—*

“Please change for me to-day 250,000,000 dollars, and oblige,
yours.

“B. TELGE.

“Friday.”

“Tokuhama, November 4, 1859.

“*To the Chief Officer Treasury:—*

“Sir,—I beg to apply for change as under:—

Mr. Eskrigge,	\$ 20,000,000,000
Mr. Jones,	20,000,000,000
Mr. Robinson,	20,000,000,000
Mr. Peters,	20,000,000,000
Mr. Sinker,	25,347,819,632
Mr. Bones,	250,000,000,000
Mr. Moses,	250,000,000,000
Mr. Doodledoo,	250,000,000,000
Mr. Nonsense,	250,000,000,000
Mr. Is-it-not,	250,000,000,000
Mr. Snooks,	250,000,000,000
Mr. James,	250,000,000,000
Mr. His-brother,	25,000,000,000
Mr. John,	25,000,000,000
Mr. Bosche,	250,000,000,000

\$ 355,347,812,632

“Three hundred and fifty-five billions, three hundred and forty-seven millions, eight hundred and nineteen thousand, six hundred and thirty-two.

(Signed,)

“THOMAS ESKRIGGE.”

We copy the printing of the official document. If the copy is correct, the figures were not even added correctly.

The Japanese could do nothing with importunities, even insults, like this, and a stoppage in the trade of the port was the result. When the balderdash was referred to Lord John Russell, he had it communicated to the East India and China Association, with the desire that "the whole weight of the commercial influence in the country may be brought to bear upon a state of things which is at once discreditable to the British name, and incompatible with the prosecution of trade in Japan." The Secretary of the Company was instructed (February 16, 1860) to acknowledge the receipt of the communication, and gave in behalf of the Association a very calm concurrence with Lord John Russell's views of the case, in expressions like this: "There can be no doubt that all associations in England, and houses of business, will impress upon their correspondents that a satisfactory commerce can only be carried on by mutual good-will and forbearance." How much Messrs. Telge and Eskrigge are likely to be improved by such advice, the reader can judge; but we trust that the rebuke afforded by the publication of the transaction may make all parties more careful and more gentlemanly.

On Commodore Perry's second visit to Japan, one of the interpreters was accompanied by a Chinese assistant, from Hong Kong, whose journal of the trip was afterwards translated and published in the Hong Kong "Overland Register and Price Current." The document is considered authentic, and is reprinted in the appendix to the official account of the Japan Expedition. In the course of this journal the Chinese describes his intimacy with a Japanese gentleman "of an ingenious nature and much learning," to whom he had lent some treatises of his own upon subjects connected with the existing Chinese insurrection. The Japanese returned these papers with some remarks of his own, in which, after saying that his ancestors had cut off Japan from foreign intercourse "because the ignorant were led astray by the desire for gain," he gives his views as follows on the subject of international intercourse:—

"The ways of Heaven are great. It nourisheth all things in the

universe. Even among the dark countries by the icy sea, there is not an individual who is not a child of heaven and earth, not one who is not made to love his fellows and be friendly with them. On this account the sages embraced all men with a common benevolence, without distinction of one from another. The principles for mutual intercourse all over the globe are the same; propriety, complaisance, good faith, and righteousness. By the observance of these a noble harmony is diffused, and the heart of heaven and earth is abundantly displayed.

“If on the contrary commerce is conducted merely with a view to gain, quarrels and litigations will spring from it, and it will prove a curse instead of a blessing. *Against such a result my ancestors were profoundly anxious.* Looking thus at the subject, the one topic of intercourse, it is the means by which people exchange the commodities which they have abundantly for those which they have not, and one nation succors the distresses of another; its propriety is plainly indicated by Providence, and peace, harmony, and good feeling are its true results. Yet if gain — gain — be what is sought for by it, it will only develop the lusts and angry passions of men, and there will be a melancholy termination to what may have been begun under good auspices. It is but a hair's breadth which separates those different results; for give selfishness the reins, and righteousness is instantly merged in the desire of gain.

“From ancient times till now, for hundreds and thousands of years, confusion and disorder, the rise and fall of states, recourse to arms and words of peace, all have been determined by this. Whenever nations agree to carry on intercourse together, they should speak clearly on this point of righteousness, and then let them exercise their soldiers and discuss the subject of war, that they may be prepared to inflict any punishment which Heaven demands. No sovereign of any kingdom should be unprovided for this.

“It happens, however, that when peace has long prevailed, these important matters are slighted, and thence comes the decay of states. But in our country the due precautions for safety have been well attended to. Our soldiers have been trained; the art of war has been discussed; guns have been cast; ships have been built day after day, and month after month, for many years, and now our troops are like those of the ancient heroes T'ang and Woo. It is in this way that we have secured the continuance of our peace. If we had not done so, some nefarious ministers or powerful thieves might have arisen to excite confusion and to begin to plunder, and we should be unable to punish them. All over the globe the strong destroy the weak, and the great swallow

the small, as if societies of men were like collections of tigers and wolves. God, by his spiritual pervasion, however, sees with a parent's heart how his children impose and strive with one another. Must he not be grieved? must he not be moved to pity?"

With the opening remarks of this sensible, if not very epigrammatic, Japanese gentleman on the true ends of international intercourse, we so fully concur, that we should be willing to leave the subject without another word, if we supposed that either our own countrymen or his would act upon the principles he lays down. His military views we give, that the reader may see how Japanese statesmen regard their own position. It is of course not yet time to expect a really disinterested commerce; but in the dealings of races as well as men it is already admitted that *honesty* is the best policy, and we trust that as high a character as possible may be impressed upon this trade in its commencement.

Had we space remaining, we should like to enter into a brief examination of the actual relations of our commerce with Japan, and the articles which are now its food and basis. We must now content ourselves with saying, that although the materials of trade are as yet few, and for a time American capital in this trade will be employed rather in exchanging Japanese products for those of China and Batavia, and supplying the wants of our own whalers and other vessels in those seas, than in any very large direct interchange of our productions for those of Japan, yet there are indications that this may be brought about. Such an interchange is to be developed, and not forced. It will be produced by a gradual inroad upon the habits of the people, rather than by any material alteration in the constitution of the empire, which if suddenly made would be little to be depended upon. It was the people, and not the princes at Loo Choo and Formosa, who were willing to indicate the coal regions, and interest themselves in making them available; and it will be the prospect of comfort, or elegance, of greater cheapness, or of greater splendor, which will introduce our fabrics into Japan, and not the decrees of a Tycoon, or the salutes of a Commodore. We trust that the recent Embassy will carry home tidings of our good-will, if not of our good taste, which will hasten and perhaps help the establishment of a truer and more useful intercourse.

Is it asked what we want, practically, for these results? We want young men who are willing to emulate the merchant princes of the flowery time of New England enterprise. We want rivals for the fame of Thomas Handasyd Perkins among those who are gone, and William Sturgis, and others who might be named, among the living, who found a romance in commerce, when it could be carried into new fields, which required no excitement from duplicity or concealment. The pride of a new enterprise is, that it is open to the world, but that we have ourselves undertaken it. If there is to be any gratification to American pride to follow from the very successful American treaty with Japan, it must come from the fact, that, opening this new mart to all nations, we know best how to avail ourselves of the new road to wealth, to influence, to human improvement, that we have made. That we really achieve this can only come from a frank, high-toned, open commerce with our few friends. Commerce in goods, commerce in ideas, and, most of all, commerce in good purposes and wishes, it must be, but it must be frank, open, and mutual, or it will certainly amount to nothing. The trade was stopped, — is substantially closed now, — because a few traders saw that gold coin was the cheapest commodity to buy and ship, although the sale of it and the exportation of it were prohibited by Japanese law. Like children who do not understand the game that they are playing, those who represent our merchants have snatched at the counters with which the game was to be played, and, so far as their power lies, have put an end to the game itself. But it is not so that the end is to be made to the matter. If high-minded men, in a high-minded way, men with young hearts and old heads, will take charge of the undertaking, it cannot be that a sympathy has been awakened *for nothing* between the thirty millions of Japan and the thirty millions of this country. Our only advice is, Be true, be liberal, and remember that it is only from small beginnings we have ever found large results.

ART. VIII. — REVIEW OF CURRENT LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

THIS journal has already borne its testimony in relation to the new interest in the Unitarian Controversy, which has given fame and tone to so much of our later theological literature. Without going into this controversy now at greater length, we simply refer in passing to a few of the recent publications bearing upon it. Dr. Lamson's able and scholarly *résumé* of the early Church testimony on the subject of the Trinity* we have already noticed (from advanced sheets), though less fully than its value and merit might justify; and we have now simply to chronicle the fact of its publication. The most interesting record of the controversy, still recent, is in the neat and compact volume † which records the varied and personal phases of the debate, — a volume which will always be interesting, from its variety of style, its general ability, and the fresh and lively tone given by the sudden revival of popular attraction in a familiar theme. And, unpretending as it is in appearance, and popular or even temporary in the aim of its publication, it will be found to have permanent value, from its clear and authentic restatement in its critical portions of sundry controverted facts, as well as for the literary and rhetorical merit of other portions. Its chief interest, however, is as a chapter, brief, unique, and complete, in the theological history of New England.

To this record we add two small volumes of Sermons or Lectures, prepared to meet the special demand upon the Unitarian pulpit for a distinct statement of the points at issue. That of Dr. Farley ‡ is a pretty full course of discussion upon the field of controversy in general, open between the Unitarians and their opponents. The substance of it was given, in the main, extemporaneously, — an argument from a written brief, — and has been written out and printed to meet the wish of the congregation that listened to it. Its value is necessarily that of clear, distinct, and forcible statement, rather than of critical research and original lines of philosophy or argument. Its point of view is substantially that of "Old School" or Scriptural Unitarianism; its spirit, reverent and devout; and its argument, addressed to those who will welcome a statement of positive Christian belief, disengaged from the perplexities of the traditionary creeds. Mr. Hale's § is a brief course of five short Sermons, of which the purpose is to set forth as many points of Christian doctrine, in connection with the existence and sphere of a positive, instituted Church. Its spirit and doctrine are summed up in the following statement (p. 68): —

* The Church of the First Three Centuries. By ALVAN LAMSON, D. D. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co.

† The New Discussion of the Trinity, containing Notices of Prof. Huntington's recent Defence of that Doctrine. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co.

‡ Unitarianism Defined. A Course of Lectures by F. A. FARLEY, D. D. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co.

§ The Elements of Christian Doctrine and its Development. Five Sermons by EDWARD E. HALE. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co.

"The Church advances to its victory, only when it recognizes, severally, all three of the works of God,—the work of creation, the work of redemption, and the present work of his present Spirit. The Church is weak, and it falls, when it proclaims only one or two of these, or when it makes one out of all three together. As its victory grows more imposing, as it ties sin with tighter cords and holds it back more assuredly,—the more certainly will it see the threefold sources of the fountain of its life; the more surely will it avoid the robbery of balancing the one of these against the other, or of trying to absorb the one by the other."

WE have received also two small volumes from England,* seeming to show that the popular interest in the controversy has been revived there in a little different direction. Both are marked with the vigor, skill and accuracy of statement, the nice Biblical scholarship, the clear and earnest argument, which we have a right to expect from their respective authors; and Mr. Carpenter's Lectures, in particular, seem to us to combine with this, in an unusual degree, the tenderness, warmth, and spiritual beauty of Christian sermons. They were called forth by the attacks, almost personal, of an Orthodox dissenting preacher; and some of the most characteristic and best portions consist of exposition of the Gospel narrative of the sufferings of Christ.

OF the many expressions of personal feeling called forth by the recent death of Theodore Parker, some will be found registered among the titles of current pamphlets,† while some are absorbed in the great stream of newspaper and platform literature, and pass away. Anticipating that the long series of volumes and single papers from that vigorous hand, extending over the last twenty years, and touching on almost every topic of vital interest to modern civilization and religion, will before long be re-edited in a permanent and authentic form, we reserve our judgment of the intellect, the opinions, and the career which are so fully embodied in them.

IN our present issue, we only in the briefest manner call attention to the very remarkable volume of Oxford and Cambridge Theological Essays, which has recently appeared from a London press,‡ and an elaborate review of which we expect to present in a future number; hoping, moreover, ere long to welcome an American reprint of the volume, which shall put it within the reach of all our readers. The Essays, seven in number, are all of the first class in thoroughness,

* Lectures on the Atonement, delivered in Northgate End Chapel, Halifax. By RUSSELL LANT CARPENTER.

Lectures on the Doctrine of the Atonement. By J. SCOTT PORTER. London: E. T. Whitfield.

† A Look at the Life of Theodore Parker; a Sermon by J. F. CLARKE. Theodore Parker; a Sermon by O. B. FROTHINGHAM. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co.

A Discourse delivered after the Death of Theodore Parker, by G. H. Hepworth. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee, & Co.

‡ Essays and Reviews. London: John W. Parker and Son. 1860. 8vo. pp. 433.

power, clearness of style, and courage of thought. Their tone is of the freest scientific criticism, reaching, in some instances, a very radical rationalism; and coming from such sources, it is certainly most extraordinary and hopeful. The titles of the Essays are the "Education of the World," by Frederic Temple, the successor of Dr. Arnold at Rugby and the Queen's Chaplain; "Bunsen's Biblical Researches," by Rowland Williams, whose work on Rational Godliness has made him known as one of the champions of liberal thought in the English Church; "The Study of the Evidences of Christianity," by Baden Powell, of Oxford, the highest, just now, of all the arch-heretics; "The National Church," by Henry B. Wilson—a most keen *critique* of Calvinism; "The Mosaic Cosmogony," by C. W. Goodwin, one of the best writers for the English Reviews; "The Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688–1750," by Mark Pattison,—a splendid historical sketch; and, finally, a long essay, of over 100 pages, on "The Interpretation of Scripture," by Benjamin Jowett, and in his best style. Such a feast of good things has not been provided for the theological scholar in any single volume of essays ever issued in our tongue. Where all is so good, it is difficult to tell what is best. Why cannot this method be followed by our American liberal scholars? Instead of burying a fine theological essay in the uncongenial company of miscellanies of every sort, in the pages of some Review, why can we not have a half-dozen thorough articles of similar tone, by our best scholars, published in book form by themselves? Every live clerical association ought, as often as once in two years, to issue a volume of essays containing the fruits of its study and discussion. Such volumes might save some of our associations from the "dying rate" at which they drag on their existence, and give new energy to the members and new interest to the meetings.

ONLY a privileged few are permitted to understand, much more to interpret, all mysteries; but Mr. G. C. Stewart, of Newark, N. J., in his own opinion at least, is one of that privileged class. In a small pocket volume of 234 diamond pages,* he has essayed to show the "how," and "whence," and "whether" of all religions and all theologies. His confidence is great and laudable. He has faith in himself, and faith in his work. There is no hesitation or modesty in his tone of statement or argument; yet we venture to affirm that his key to all sacred knowledge will be as little satisfactory to experts in religious science as to the priests in the churches. Three of its characteristics will hinder it from being accepted,—its construction of facts to suit a preconceived theory; its looseness, not to say recklessness, of historical assertion; and its total disregard of references, making it impossible to verify any of the statements. Most readers will throw it down after

* The Hierophant, or Gleanings from the Past. Being an Exposition of Biblical Astronomy, and the Symbolism and Mysteries on which were founded all Ancient Religions and Secret Societies. Also an Explanation of the Dark Sayings and Allegories which abound in the Pagan, Jewish, and Christian Bibles. Also the Real Sense of the Doctrines and Observances of the Modern Christian Churches. By G. C. STEWART. Newark, N. J. 1859. 16mo. pp. 234.

reading a dozen pages, as a tissue of absurdities; but they will act unwisely in so doing. It is a very ingenious book in its style of pleading; it contains a great deal of curious learning, and its spirit, though infidel unquestionably, is not bitter or malignant. It is worth reading, as a queer illustration of the vagaries of the intellect of this age, applying itself to religious themes.

Mr. Stewart's theory is that all religions are Pagan; that Judaism, Christianity, Islam, are not less Pagan than the mythology of Greece and Rome; that all religions come from one primitive Pagan source, — the religion of Egypt; and that this religion is astronomy or astrology. He finds in the signs of the zodiac the interpretation of all sacred records; — of the Hebrew and Christian books, not less than of the Persian and Indian fables; of Jehovah and Jesus, not less than of Jupiter and Brahma. All the miracles, and prophecies, and parables, from Genesis to the Apocalypse, become to him perfectly plain, as the interpretation of stellar phenomena. Taken literally, he pronounces the Biblical wonders incredible nonsense; but his power as Hierophant makes the most difficult luminous and beautiful. The customs of the Catholic Church take on admirable consistency as expositions of sacred astrology, and all the hard dogmas become intelligible. This explains the Trinity, the vicarious atonement, the fall of man, the doctrine of angels, and the holiness of Mary, and comprehends as faithfully the latest worship of the Virgin as the most ancient worship of Isis. Phallic and Catholic become one in the grand unitary influence of the equinoxes and the constellations.

Mr. Stewart's philology is peculiar. He finds coincidences which would have staggered Mezzofanti, and would amaze Professor Marsh. He is pleased to identify John with Janus, Abram with Brahma, and Saul with the Devil. He makes no scruple of confounding English, Hebrew, and Sanscrit words, when the sound is similar. He accepts every form of coincidence. "Aquarius" is the "baptizer," and Lent is very properly observed in February under the sign of "Pisces." The "Pharisees" are evidently "Parsees," that is, fire-worshippers. Crucifixion, in his style of writing, becomes "crossification," and represents the crossing of the equinoctial lines; explaining thus not only the Jewish Passover, but the Christian myth of Calvary. "Gad," the head of a Jewish tribe, is only another form of the word "God," and simply gives one of the twelve names of Deity. All the Jewish tribes represent alike signs of the zodiac and names of the Supreme Being. The word "Epiphany" Mr. Stewart derives from Phanes, an Oriental philosopher, and never hints that it has any Greek in its composition.

Other singular assertions Mr. Stewart ventures, such as that Job was "an Ophite priest;" that Joseph's coat merely symbolized the change of the forests in autumn; that the Greek Testament in use in the churches and schools was translated from the Roman Latin; that the word *seducere* signifies "to go before;" that Dives and Lazarus represent the old and the new year; that the word "onion" represents the Almighty Being, from its remaining always an onion, though successive layers be removed; that Elijah was the summer sun, and

Elisha the autumnal. The book abounds in such strange assumptions as these; and we regret to notice that, where Mr. Stewart condescends to give any authorities, they are such as Nott and Gliddon's *Types of Mankind*, which have not among scientific men the highest value, and Higgins's *Apocalypse*.

The most extraordinary of his interpretations is that which makes "the seven churches of Asia" represent the seven congregations of stars in the seven warm months; Ephesus being March; Thyatira, April; Philadelphia, May, with the sign of Gemini, or brotherly love; Pergamos, June, because the sun is then in its tower, or its solstice; Sardis, July, since "Sar-dis," the rock god, is changed to the Coptic "Eleon," which is clearly the "Lion," or "Leo;" Smyrna, August, for does not the "Virgin" hold a Smyrna, or bundle of myrrh, in her hand? and, finally, Laodicea, September, which "lukewarm" church evidently holds Libra, or the balance. This is a specimen of Mr. Stewart's style of interpretation.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE title of Prof. Smith's valuable work* (some of whose statements on points of doctrine we have already referred to) is borne out by its well-digested array of contents. It fills for ecclesiastical history the same place which the Oxford Tables hold in secular. It is on a scale of about equal magnitude, and even more simple and clear in its arrangement. This arrangement, the most important feature and the leading merit of the work, is as follows.

The first table gives us "Ancient Church History, A. D. 1 to 750." "The Apostolic Church" is the first column, being a portraiture of the main doctrinal, practical, and ecclesiastical features of the first one hundred and eighty years of the Christian era; next, a column of "Contemporaneous History," much of it sketching the conflict of the nations with the Gospel as first promulgated; then, "Culture and Literature," containing names of poets, of orators, of philosophers, and of historians, the elder sons of learning and of art;—these three occupying the first page. An interplaced leaf, smaller than the including ones, and sheltered by the general title crossing them all, contains "The External History of the Church," "The Church and the Roman Empire," "Growth of the Church," "Fathers and Founders," etc. Then, "The Internal History of the Church," in three more columns, containing "Church Literature," "Church Polity," "Worship and Ritual." And lastly, "Discipline and Monasticism," "Doctrines and Controversy," and "Heresies and Schisms." These twelve columns complete one table. Five similar tables bring us through the period of Ancient Church History.

* History of the Church of Christ in Chronological Tables: a Synchronistic View of the Events, Characteristics, and Culture of each Period,—including the History of Polity, Worship, Literature, and Doctrines; together with two Supplementary Tables upon the Church in America; and an Appendix, containing the Series of Councils, Popes, Patriarchs, and other Bishops, and a full Index. By HENRY B. SMITH, D. D., Professor in the Union Theological Seminary of the City of New York. New York: Charles Scribner.

"Mediæval Church History, A. D. 750 to 1517. From Charlemagne to the Reformation," — is contained in a series of five tables, numbering sixty-four columns. Another group of sixty-five divisions, in four tables with Supplement, is entitled "Modern Church History, A. D. 1517 to 1858." And lastly, nine pages of "Supplementary Tables" contain the "History of the Church in America, A. D. 1492 to 1858," — remarkably full, we observe, especially in the department of Theological Literature. The culture and general literature of our nation, also, — as Colleges, Schools, Periodicals, Books, Belles-Lettres, and Eminent Men, — are set in order admirably. An Appendix, showing the Church Councils — with the dates — from the second century to 1858, filling nearly twelve columns; a series of Popes, Patriarchs, &c.; and a "General Index," covering eight pages, (eight columns on a page,) complete the work.

From these details, the scholar will readily understand its great importance and value. The comprehensive originality of its plan, its ingenious convenience, its perfect fitness to its use, its accuracy and precise erudition, raise it to the rank of monumental works.

WE are glad to chronicle, in our review of current literature, the appearance of another volume of Mr. Bancroft's *History of the United States*.* The eighth volume of this incomparable work comprises a term of but little more than one year, — from June 17, 1775, to July 4, 1776, — but a year of what moment to the interests of freedom and humanity! No year in the annals of the last century, perhaps of modern time, is marked by events of equal significance with those which distinguish the birth-year of the American nation. The historian traces, with luminous pen, the motives and progress of the rupture which finally severed these lands from Great Britain, in the suicidal policy of the home government and the steadfast determination of the Colonies. No history more strikingly illustrates the influence of individuals on the course of events. A monarch less stubborn than George III. would have met in the spirit of conciliation the reasonable claims of the Colonists, avoiding, instead of provoking, the final appeal to arms. A patriot less resolute than John Adams would have shrunk from the fearful odds of an armed encounter with an adversary of such disproportionate resources. And without George III. at one end and John Adams at the other, the day of American independence might have been indefinitely postponed.

The *History* deepens in difficulty, as well as in interest, as it now proceeds in the record of the Revolutionary era. Old and prevailing opinions of men and acts may have, in some instances, to be reconsidered. The new judge has an independent verdict to deliver on characters already judged by the reader, and perhaps related to him by personal ties, or endeared by fixed associations. Impartial justice is the most difficult of all the duties of the historian, and the rarest of literary virtues. No historian was ever more sensible of the obligation of this

* *History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Continent.* By GEORGE BANCROFT. Vol. VIII. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1860.

virtue, if we may judge from his own confession, than Mr. Bancroft: — "Indiscriminate praise neither paints to the life, nor teaches by example, nor advances social science; history is no mosaic of funeral eulogies and family epitaphs, nor can the hand of truth sketch character without shadows as well as light." "The historian, not less than philosophers and naturalists, must bring to his pursuit the freedom of an unbiassed mind; in his case, the submission of reason to prejudice would have a deeper criminality, for he cannot neglect to be impartial without at once falsifying nature and denying Providence."* We must think that the author has successfully maintained in this volume the impartiality which these sentences commend, and however readers may dissent from some of his judgments, they must in candor suppose that the rule here prescribed has been the mark of his endeavor. The characterization of John Adams — the "Martin Luther of the American Revolution," as Mr. Bancroft styles him — in the chapter entitled "The First Act of Independence" (Chap. LX.), is certainly no flattered likeness; yet it strikes as a masterpiece of historic portraiture, as remarkable for nice discrimination as it is for impartial statement. The influence of that extraordinary man on the Continental councils is not exaggerated in the exclamation which closes this description: — "When, in the life of a statesman, were six months of more importance to the race than those six months in the career of John Adams?"

On the whole, — and what better could be said of it? — the present volume compares favorably with its predecessors. Portions of it, as the narrative of Howe's evacuation of Boston, that of the negotiations of the English government with German princes for the sale of their subjects, the action of French policy in American affairs, the battle of Fort Moultrie, and the chapter entitled "Virginia proclaims the Rights of Man," are unsurpassed by the author's best efforts in the earlier sections of the work. Already the yet unfinished History ranks as the first classic in American literature, and as such has won for its author a prouder and more enduring fame than oratorical success or political honor can secure. Presidents and Vice-Presidents are made of poorer materials with each successive term, and popular eloquence is getting cheap; but a literary work like this, the combined product of genius, high culture, and long laborious years, fulfils a career in which the competitors are few, and the merit and the glory proportionally great.

MR. DUFFEE'S History of Williams College † is a labor of love from the pen of an *alumnus*, who thus pays a tribute of affection to an *Alma Mater* worthy of the most grateful loyalty of her sons. We have read every page of it with that interest which its subject-matter is admirably suited to quicken in the breast of every lover of literature and high culture. The contents of the volume might have been arranged and disposed more systematically or artistically. There are

* Pp. 117, 118.

† A History of Williams College. By REV. CALVIN DUFFEE. Boston: A. Williams & Co. 1860. 8vo. pp. 432.

omissions, too, which ought to be supplied if the work passes to another edition; for it was hardly pardonable in the author to neglect to give us the Charter of the College, and to leave us uninformed of the way in which the provisions of Colonel Williams's will were legally carried out in the establishment of a College in place of a Free School, and to fail of presenting us with a statement of the funds of the institution. But if any subsequent historian shall feel moved to rewrite a history for the sake of supplying these and other omissions, he will find in what Mr. Durfee has done the stock material much of which will need no revision. We shall refer by and by to the most striking peculiarity of the History, as so largely devoted to a review of the efforts made in the College to bring about "Revivals." Ex-Governor Washburn, one of the most honored among its many distinguished graduates, furnishes an admirable introductory letter, filled with excellent matter, presented in a most engaging way. The brave old frontier soldier who gave his name to the institution, because on his path to his last battle he provided in his will for a free school in the wild region of his own exploits, is appropriately commemorated. Then we have the course of the College annals presented under successive chapters devoted to the administrations of Presidents Fitch, Moore, Griffin, and Hopkins,— of each of whom biographical sketches are given. Much incidental information relating to the benefactors, the buildings, the officers, and the studies of the institution, is scattered over the pages. Honorable and self-sacrificing men, the memory of whom is grateful, find the service of their hearts and lives reverentially recognized here. The College has a history of which all connected with it may justly be proud. It has distinctions, too, above some older institutions of the same character; not the least of which is that of furnishing the first inspiration for the work of Foreign Missions, and some of the most devoted and revered laborers in the cause. We sincerely hope that the earnest and loving spirit in which Mr. Durfee has presented the past history of the College will quicken in the hearts of affluent men the purpose to lavish upon it their gifts and munificence.

Mr. Durfee devotes a large share of his pages to a full and systematic statement of the religious history of the College, under its general aspects, and particularly in reviewing the administration of each of its Presidents. The noble aim which from the first actuated the early patrons and trustees of the institution, and which has been consistently kept in view by those who have succeeded them, was to make the seminary a centre and a source for all the agencies of true Christian piety. Devout and faithful men have borne sacrifices, have struggled through the day of small things, have laid their plans in prayer and faith, and have availed themselves of all lawful means for consecrating secular learning within the walls of the College, and for training there young men, a fair proportion of whom should be missionaries of the cross, and all of whom might be subjected to influences which would bring them within the fold of the Christian Church. The situation of the College favored these views and objects. Sheltered within a mountain region, where simple ways and the old-fashioned rev-

erence retained largely the habits and the creed of our ancient Puritan stock, the seminary invited to it young men whose means were straitened, who had been under the best domestic influences at home, and who would find but few if any new temptations during their period of study. Great pains have evidently been taken from the first to secure officers in the College in full sympathy with the religious ends had in view. The peculiar type of piety fostered there, as our readers need hardly be informed, is that recognized as Calvinistic. And doubtless the systematic efforts made at that College to perpetuate that type of piety, and to indoctrinate successive classes of students in its creed and principles, have availed more than any other single agency in this Commonwealth in resisting thus far the almost universal tendency to a religious philosophy more in harmony with the broad truth and the expanded intelligence and the liberal culture of our times. We trust that a sentiment not so exacting as charity, or our professed liberality, will dispose us to recognize the virtues and the noble services identified with and still operating through that antiquated type of piety. We can honor the sincerity and zeal of those whose highest object is the promotion of a College revival as described in the pages before us, and we can understand how some of the most objectionable elements and incidents of such measures may be neutralized by the real good, the veritable heart-work of the Holy Spirit, which may predominate in them. But we cannot read a single page of these narratives without meeting something to remind us that our maturest judgment and our sympathies are more or less out of harmony with the scenes and measures described. It is our earnest conviction, that in some cases they must work an unspeakable mischief, and especially that henceforward attempts to perpetuate that old type of piety by the same measures within College walls, will be followed by prevailingly baneful consequences. The present state of theological science, and the present aspects of the great cause of religion, indicate that men trained in the period of opening manhood under somewhat different religious influences will alone be fitted to meet the emergent demands which the Gospel of Christ, through its champions, will have to encounter in the next age. There is something essentially dwarfing and cramping, something unwholesome mentally and spiritually, in the methods and agencies of a college revival after the old pattern. Some of the most ingenious, high-minded, and noble-souled of the students can never be won to a religious faith and course of life through those methods. On the contrary, all that is sincere and manly in them is shocked or disgusted, and they are often made sceptical for life by the phenomena of which they are observers in their companions. They refer to excited feelings, to frights, to a long continued strain on the sensibilities, and to the caught agitation of morbid sympathies, the experiences which they are told are to be referred to the special agency of the Holy Spirit. The creed which underlies the method employed, they cannot and will not receive. They discern the mechanism and the contrivances of human agency, where they are told that only a Divine operation is in progress. While we have been reading in Mr. Durfee's pages about the number of those who "found a

hope" in the successive College revivals, we have been thinking of the unchronicled experiences of those who looked on, who were drawn perhaps into the edge of the excited circles, but were finally left, disappointed, to connect forever afterwards the most dismal and dreary associations with piety, and to go through life secretly sorrowing over the lack of that most precious of all blessings, — a strong and cheerful religious faith. The very small proportion which the number of converts, the trophies of a revival, bears to the whole of those who have been subjected to its influence, is a phenomenon which has never been satisfactorily accounted for. It is to us a matter of absolute amazement that this fact alone has not induced a distrust of the system itself. Then too, in the narratives of such revivals, even in the pages before us, there is the most inconsistent and incoherent representation of the divine and human elements involved in the alternation between torpor and spasmodic excitement, spiritual indifference and awakening, which is brought to our view. Mr. Durfee, in assigning four reasons to account for a period of religious darkness and declension in the College, makes three of them to be a want of permanence among the officers, the removal of those who had shared in the previous "awakening," and "the influx of an uncommon amount of impiety;" but the fourth reason, the most significant of all, is, "A general suspension of Divine influences in this region of country." (p. 225.) What other possible meaning can be assigned to this, than one which divides the blame of the state of things between man and God? The fourth reason would seem to be all-sufficient and conclusive in itself to account for the lack of a revival, — the Divine influence was withheld! Is that ever so? And again, we meet with the, to say the least, awkward expression, "In College God seemed to hold his people off." (p. 116.) We have written upon this matter as our sincerest feelings have prompted. Those whose sensibilities we have offended must forgive us for our frankness. We know something of the psychological phenomena attendant upon religious excitements. We know how above all other things to be desired for young men engaged in a college course, is a manly and thorough principle of piety. But we also know, that under the critical circumstances involved in planting that principle in the heart, truth, truth of doctrine and sentiment, large, wholesome truth, is the most essential condition, lest the after trial prove the work fallacious in the subject of it, and make the failure a reproach to vital religion for lookers-on.

THE highly important Monograph of Mr. Moore,* in itself filled with matter of pregnant interest in our history, is the earnest of a more extended work covering and illustrating its subject-matter. Of course we are withheld from any thorough dealing with the topic and

* The Treason of Charles Lee, Major-General, Second in Command in the American Army of the Revolution. By George H. Moore, Librarian of the New York Historical Society. [Read before the Society, June 22, 1858.] New York: Charles Scribner. 1860. 8vo. pp. 116.

the character presented in it till we have the promised full-fruits of the author's labors. The somewhat brilliant but very erratic and unstable character of Charles Lee had made him an object of curious and divided interest to those who knew him before he offered to our countrymen the aid of his mind and sword in our Revolutionary contest. Opinion never was uniform about him among those who were intimate with him; and even such as had the highest estimate of his abilities and services acknowledged in him abatements and faults, which made them feel that whatever they committed to his zeal and prowess was set at risk by his impetuosity, his unguarded tongue, and his fickleness of principle. He was the subject of alternating encomiums and suspicions while he held his high office, and when he sunk away in the clouds and contempt of his unhonored retirement, the darkest surmises were more than intimated about his integrity. Mr. Moore is the person to whom has been judicially committed the severely painful, but most needful duty, of presenting to the world the positive proofs of the treachery of the second in command in our great war. Charles Lee now stands clearly convicted of treason,—as lying patent in a document prepared by his own pen for the service of the enemy, which document is given by fac-simile in the volume before us, together with the fac-simile of a letter from Lee, for purposes of comparison. This damnable document — *littera scripta manet* — came into the hands of Mr. Moore, with a mass of other highly valuable papers, by purchase. From them all he promises to prepare Memoirs of the Life and Treason of Charles Lee, with his Political and Military Correspondence, &c. Meanwhile, understanding exactly the place which the one leading document must henceforward fill, the exact bearing of its contents upon the previously existing division of opinion about the character and the deserts of the author of it, and its relation to the time, the men, and the events with which its contents are associated, Mr. Moore prepared a setting of narrative and comment for this document as a separate work. His single aim is to put his readers in possession of such facts as will help them to read intelligently the paper the contents of which are so blasting to any remnant of fame which Lee has enjoyed. He begins with a biographical sketch of General Lee, including a notice of his doings and sayings before he — an officer under half-pay in the English service — renounced his allegiance, and professed to espouse, with some ostentatious demonstration too, the cause of liberty on this soil. Mr. Moore has been at much pains to fit the narrative to all its bearings, to fill in details and illustrative statements, and to set before the reader the chief materials for forming a judgment independent — if any one pleases, and can substantiate it — of that one which he himself so emphatically pronounces. It makes a lover of his country, and of its Revolutionary annals, and of its patriot leaders, to tremble and start, even now, when the danger is one only for the imagination to forecast, to call to mind how nearly, at one point of time, was it possible that Lee might have acceded to the command of his then only superior in rank, George Washington. Did luck or Providence preside over the contingency? Lee was jealous of Washington. In his own estimation, he *was* his supe-

rior. His letters contain hints — of which his conversation is reported to have been garnished by oaths and bitter epithets in full and bold avowal — that he regarded Washington as wholly incompetent to his trust. Whether Washington really read him through to the core seems to be doubtful; but that the Commander-in-Chief never gave him his entire confidence, might be assumed *a priori* from our knowledge of our patriot's soul, even if many frankly written and cautious sentences did not stand in evidence of it. It will be for Mr. Moore to show to us, in his promised elaboration of the valuable papers in his hands, whether we are to charge upon Lee the form of self-seeking, mean, hateful, and mercenary treachery which we ascribe to Arnold; or whether we are to refer his dastardly tamperings with his manhood and his high trust to a miserable littleness of moral principle, — an obtrusive, self-consequential, and restless intermeddling, and a poor confidence in the presumptuous fancy that Congress and Washington needed his advice, which, if taken, would exalt him, and the refusal of which would justify him in suggesting to the enemy how to humble them for their mistake.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great attention which has been paid to the study of particular periods of French history, both in this country and in England, it is a noteworthy circumstance that a thorough and comprehensive History of France has never been written in our language. While much has been written about Charlemagne, Henry IV., Louis XIV., and the French Revolution, the historical student who was desirous of obtaining a complete view of French history has been obliged to confine himself to meagre and unsatisfactory compends, unless he has had access to the voluminous works of the French historians, the best of which are often more minute in their details than is agreeable to a foreign reader. This want it is Mr. Godwin's purpose to supply by a new History, so comprehensive in its plan as to include all the more important and significant events in the annals of France, together with an adequate discussion of the underlying causes which have determined the course of the national life and the character of its movement, and so condensed as to be brought within the compass of a moderate number of volumes. As we gather from the Preface to the volume now before us,* his plan extends to six volumes, severally treating of the history of Gaul down to the time of Charlemagne; of Feudal France to the death of Louis IX.; of the period of the national, civil, and religious wars; of the ministries of Sully, Mazarin, and Richelieu; of the reign of Louis XIV.; and of the history of France in the eighteenth century; and we are also told that each volume is designed to be complete in itself. Of these volumes we have only the first, which from the nature of its subject must necessarily be less interesting and less valuable to the general reader than those which follow; but it furnishes sufficient evidence of Mr. Godwin's fitness for the task which he has undertaken, — through his familiarity with the most trustworthy sources of information, his clearness and force of judg-

* The History of France. By PARKE GODWIN. Vol. I. (Ancient Gaul.) New York: Harper and Brothers. 1860. 8vo. pp. xxiv. and 495.

ment, his freedom from blinding prejudices, and his command of a manly and perspicuous style.

The volume is divided into four Books, which are again sub-divided into eighteen chapters. The First Book is entitled "Primitive Gaul," and is divided into four chapters, of which the first two are devoted to an account of ancient Gaul and its inhabitants, and of their character, government, religion, etc., and the last two treat of the first Roman incursions and of the conquest of Gaul by Julius Cæsar. The Second Book traces the history of "Roman Gaul," its organization by Augustus, and its government by the heathen and Christian Emperors, closing with a survey of the social and political condition of the province at the close of the Roman domination. The Third Book, entitled "Roman-German Gaul," recounts the history of the invasions of the Northern barbarians and of the wars which ensued, bringing the narrative down to the close of the Merovingian dynasty. In the Fourth Book, which comprises the history of "German Gaul," we have an account of the government by the Mayors of the Palace and of the reigns of Pepin le Bref (called by Mr. Godwin Pippin) and of Charlemagne, ending with the dissolution of the Empire of the Franks.

Mr. Godwin's narrative is full, clear, and exact, and in general his style deserves high praise, though his spelling of proper names is likely to cause some embarrassment to those who are familiar only with the common orthography. Pippin, Chlothar, Karl the Hammer, Karl the Great, and the like, are scarcely improvements on the designations employed by most historians. His acquaintance with his subject is broad and thorough; he has drawn his materials from every accessible source which can be regarded as furnishing authentic details; and he has not neglected to support his own statements by numerous references to the original authorities. His treatment of the vexed questions with which he has occasionally to deal is candid and judicious; and even when disposed to doubt the correctness of his conclusions on some doubtful point, the reader cannot fail to recognize the weight of his arguments and the fairness with which they are presented. His perception of character is keen and discriminating; and his delineations of the men of that remote epoch have great vigor and distinctness. His subject affords but few opportunities for picturesque or animated description, yet scattered through the volume are many striking and eloquent passages; and as a whole it must hold an honorable place among recent works in that department of history to which it belongs.

THE Sepoy rebellion was a blow sufficient to beat, even into English conservatism, the conviction that all was not perfect in the administration of India. The deluge of English books on India, which pours steadily forth, throws more or less light—less rather than more—on the thick darkness of the varied administrations of the last hundred years there. Among these books we are specially struck with the sharpness, courage, and generosity of Mr. Russell's *Diary*.* Every-

* *My Diary in India, in the Year 1858-59.* By WILLIAM HOWARD RUSSELL, J.L. D., Special Correspondent of "The Times." In Two Volumes. London: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge. 1860.

body has read his letters from India to the London Times. His Diary contains just what he did not put into his letters. The book is superficial, of course. How can a description of an empire, made in twelve months, be anything but superficial? Indeed, what have we had yet about India, from any quarter, that is not superficial? But it is unprejudiced; it tells what we want to know, it is fresh, and it is humane. More than this, it is legible, even intensely interesting. It has made the "Old Indians" very angry. We cannot regret that. A good many other things must have made them very angry as the last four years have gone by,—and a good many more things will make them very angry before the Indian questions are settled.

Hodson's life,* written by his brother, is made up mostly from his own letters home and to his wife. It is not history, but is a good piece of the memoirs for the service of history. Our readers remember him as the "East" of "Tom Brown of Rugby,"—and we may say, in passing, that none of East's adventures in that boy-romance were exaggerations. The Rugby boy proved the dashing *sabreur* of the Indian army,—a sort of Marion of the Punjaub, and afterwards of the Low Country,—whose exploits in the saddle are rivalled only by Lochinvar's, and whose distances only by Dr. Kane's. The life is the Arnold type of life carried into the wretched contradictions and paradoxes of war. And at last the hero loses life in a place where he had no business to be, by a chance shot from an enemy already defeated. The book has met severe criticism in England, as everything English does. It is doubtless marked by the exaggeration of an autobiography, and of a brother's affectionate comment on an autobiography. But none the less does it give striking sketches of the details of the awful drama in which he played his part so bravely.

Side by side with these narratives of a civilian and a soldier we have placed the memoir of the Bishop of India.* Dr. Wilson was not a great man. No one but a kinsman and most affectionate biographer could have pretended that. But he was a good man, who tried to do the duty which he had to do, without fear or favor. Poor Hodson's life, written by a clergyman, shows the hopeless work of men trying to make a high Christianity consist with obedience to imbecile generals in the work of annexing independent provinces, or riding down infatuated rebels. A paradox as difficult—happily more amusing because less important—is the task of a Low Church "Evangelical" English priest, who of a sudden becomes a bishop. However disposed the Rev. Mr. Wilson might be to underrate the mere formalities of his Church, it is clear enough that the Right Rev. Dr. Wilson had no disposition then to minish the office of a Bishop. When once he had won his

* Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India : being Extracts from the Letters of the Late Major W. S. R. Hodson, B. A., Trinity College, Cambridge ; First Bengal Fusileers, Commander of Hodson's Horse. Edited by his Brother, REV. GEORGE H. HODSON, M. A., Senior Fellow of Trinity College. Boston : Ticknor and Fields. 1860.

† The Life of Daniel Wilson, D. D., Bishop of Calcutta, and Metropolitan of India. By JOSIAH BATEMAN, M. A., his Son-in-Law and First Chaplain. Boston : Gould, Kendall, and Lincoln. 1860.

crozier, — for certainly with him it was "*Volo episcopari*," — he used it like a Christian man. And whatever judgment we may form of the preacher in Islington, we are most ready to aver that his work in India was worthy to succeed Heber's.

All these books — the civilian's, the soldier's, and the clergyman's — confirm to the full the estimate of the Hindoo character, which we put on record on these pages early in the history of the rebellion. They show us at almost every page the tenderness, docility, obedience, and affection of the Hindoo. The two books on the rebellion show that the English empire in India subsists this day because the Hindoo servants of the English officials were in so large a proportion of cases faithful to those whom they had undertaken to serve. Yet all three of the books show that, with but few exceptions thus far, the English colonists of India have wholly failed to recognize these millions, on whom they thus depend, as entitled to any "civilities," — even to any rights as men. If Mr. Russell may be relied upon, the bearing of an "Old Indian" towards an East Indian of the native race is marked with insult which no Southern planter thinks of offering to his slave. If we rightly understand the opening proceedings of the new English administration of India, the new officials are conscious of the wrong and danger of this contempt. The new era which is promised to India will never come, unless it recognize the rights and dignities of the native races.

GEOGRAPHY AND TRAVELS.

A PART of Mr. Norton's volume on Italy* was published in "*The Crayon*," a few years since. The contents have evidently been selected from many materials, with care and deliberation. Then, even after this discrimination, they are modestly called Notes. Florence, Rome, Orvieto, Naples, Venice, Genoa, are the heights where the writer stands when he records his impressions of Italian Art, Religion, and Society. He draws the lines from the most advanced principles of this time to them. If the State and the Church suffer in the comparison, it is not because the critic is a partisan. The book even wants in color and passion. The sentences shape themselves in the most lucid but statuesque forms. The author represses all enthusiasm, all sentiment and Italian rapture. You girls and boys, with rolling eyes, dream no more of Italy. There also are the sternest facts; and the Pope and his Cardinals have transformed the sky into brass, and the earth to scarlet. Goethe, though he was of marble, at one period of his life dared not think of Italy, it so overwhemed him with longing. But he was a poet; and we, though we change our skies, must not begin our lines with capital letters, nor even, like Cicero when he had to defend a poet, write unconscious hexameters.

Of the justness of the title, "*Study in Italy*," there is much evidence in these pages. In a bookstall, buying two or three books and reading them, — one a biography of a good man, Letterato, one a Neapolitan

* Notes of Travel and Study in Italy. By CHARLES ELIOT NORTON. Boston: Ticknor and Fields.

travesty of Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and one a theological work, with a too long title, — we find a warrant that here is a traveller who saw a little beyond the guide-book. Warrant enough; for which one of the throng that streams through Italy knows even the orthography of the places in which he only eats, drinks, smokes, as usual? If he can comprehend what *Bif Stek* means on the *lista* at the *trattoria*, is not that something? The Doves of Pliny stamped on his butter he never can see, because, was not butter made to eat? If, after crossing the Atlantic Ocean, and many seas and lands,

“Lavinaque venit
Litora, multum ille et ternis jactatus et alto,”

we can drink no better wine than at home, and procure not half the luxuries, were it worth while to come? If we could only take our home with us! But multitudinous trunks cannot contain it. In travelling, we must see what manner of man we are, stripped of our domestic and indigenous advantages. The new view one gets of himself, — but nothing must be said of that in the presence of this writer.

With well-furnished mind, and without hurry, the author of this volume saw Italy with a master's eye. He has selected what he would have his reader see and know with care, and has no ostentation of the vain showman. He knows the true from the false in Art. He is so morally sensitive, that the errors of the Church cannot escape him, in her thousand subtle and open devices. Now, a few months in that land can give no authority to the observation of its religious phenomena; but after repeated and long visits, one may without presumption deliver his opinions. He shows us the good, which no perverse church or practice can quite obliterate from the heart of man, in fine examples of the Society *Della Misericordia*, the Evening Schools, the philanthropy of Letterato.

The style is clear and most simple. There is no egotism, no display, but thorough good taste throughout. The poetical aspect of things, the personal surprise, which it seems must fill a New England man face to face with Roman Art and Antiquity, is totally ignored. He describes what he saw, and only that. The imaginative youth who began Latin Poetry with Virgil's *Eclogues*, and who could not fail to localize every tree, every hedge, and even the great shadows that fell from the mountains at sundown, when the roofs of the hamlets began to smoke, and the weary shepherds invited each other to abundance of mellow chestnuts and pressed cheese, desires to know, most of all, what sensations the traveller has in that land of the soul. It is best he should not be gratified, since he could not, at all; and new studies, and the pilgrim's old, yet ever new report, will still be food for the imagination, until he himself, one day, shall

“Stay the wheels at Cogoletto,”

and learning, perchance, this one thing, that the sunset is always and everywhere Italian, return with contented heart to his own no longer obscure abode, whose limitless horizon contains the most ancient and famous figures.

YANKEE perseverance, endurance, and enterprise could not have found better expression than in Collins's "*Voyage down the Amoor*." * At his own expense apparently, at the hazard of life, with every kind of hardship, from want of food, want of sleep, want of rest, want of everything civilized and comfortable, Perry McDonough Collins makes his weary way, through a whole Siberian winter, from St. Petersburg to the Pacific Ocean; rides day and night without cessation, frequently on a mere box full of baggage, sometimes along dizzy precipices, sometimes over half-frozen rivers, often in driving storms of rain and snow, with a temperature at times fifty degrees below zero. His unadorned narrative exhibits him simply as a pioneer of commerce, such as the "Commercial Agent of the U. S." should have been. He evidently intends to show Russia how to develop the buried resources of her immense Asiatic domain. He carries with him the foregone conclusion, that the Amoor is as susceptible of steam navigation as the Mississippi; which needs the less proof to us, as American-built steamers now ply upon these broad waters, and great abundance of coal is found at the river's mouth, to say nothing of the vast forests along the banks. In a spirit characteristic of our countrymen, our author proposes to the Russian government to build a railroad from the central city of Irkutsk to the Amoor, upon certain conditions, highly favorable to the builders. The Russian officials approve a scheme the execution of which would open a new field to the commerce of the world. No more snow than that which embarrasses our most northern railroads would impede the use of such a road; Chinese laborers could be obtained at little cost; the mountains are not so forbidding as the Alleghanies; abundant mines of the richest metal would be brought, by this iron highway, within control of the energies of civilized man. The Cossack population along much of Mr. Collins's route is poor, scattered, ignorant, half starved, and filthy. Upon the Amoor, only about seven thousand natives are to be found, chiefly Manchos, amiable but stupid, peaceful but superstitious, their polygamy, slavery, idolatry, degradation of women, and kindred barbarisms, offering a new and fertile field for Protestant missions.

The narrative suffers for want of a map. Instead of some wretched lithographs, Mr. Collins ought to have traced his land and water routes, as the ordinary maps are quite inadequate, and the chief benefit of such a homely detail is lost where means are wanting for following the traveller's steps upon paper; and there are no charms of style, no graces of description, no highly-wrought incidents, to relieve the "unvarnished tale" of fatigue, hardship, peril, suffering, and heroic achievement. On the whole, a drearier journey has seldom been taken, nor one more bravely carried through by our dreadnought countryman; but the results seem to have been anticipated by the steamers already upon the Amoor, the American traders established at its mouth, and the European science now in application to the silver mines in the interior.

* *A Voyage down the Amoor, and Land Journey through Siberia.* By PERRY McDONOUGH COLLINS. New York. 1860.

THE lively and entertaining picture which Mr. Trollope has given* of life, manners, and scenery in Tropical America, deserves a fuller notice than we are able to give it at present. Journeying partly, it appears, in some diplomatic capacity, and partly with the tastes and objects of a traveller, he gives us by far the best account we have seen of the British West Indies, Guiana, and Central America. His views on the labor question, as affecting the British colonies, are worth studying, even as simple reflections of the current opinion there. Without saying a word to justify or extenuate the system of slavery, he shows very clearly the nature of the difficulties that have hitherto attended emancipation. His testimony to the indolent and saucy independence of the free blacks is unequivocal, and often very amusing. His summary judgment may be received, we trust, with some abatement, that, "as far as we can at present see, the struggle has produced idleness and sensuality, rather than prosperity and civilization." (p. 273.) As to the East-Indian coolies brought into Demerara, he says: "It appears to me that these men could not be treated more tenderly, unless they were put separately each under his own glass case, with a piece of velvet on which to lie." (p. 185.) Accordingly he exhibits a contemptuous impatience of the efforts made in England to prevent the natural and most necessary supply of the labor market from abroad. The English Abolition Society he considers has done its work, and regards its action now as an anachronism and a nuisance. His exhibition of the various stages of prosperity or decline in the different colonies, from the almost apathetic despair of Jamaica to the busy and thriving self-importance of the little island of Barbados, is extremely curious and instructive.

NOVELS AND TALES.

WE have already spoken, in our May number, of Sir Rohan's Ghost, one of Miss Prescott's stories, which has been published separately. The whole series, if we may call them so, which appeared in the magazines, are written with so much power and originality, that they have a right to special consideration in our notice of the literature of the day. With the exception of the *Marble Faun*, and *Rutledge*, they rank as the most striking American publications that have appeared, certainly within the last twelve months. The conception of character that they display, their fluency of language, and close accuracy in description, with the airy fancy that surrounds them, place them high above the flow of American fiction, which pours out so continuously that we cannot detect a separate flavor in the waters that succeed each other.

But still these stories, while they are entirely free from the usual crudeness of the works of a young author, promise more than they gratify at present; the impression left after reading them is a painful one. "*Yet's Christmas Box*," which appeared in *Harper's Magazine*

* The West Indies and the Spanish Main. By ANTHONY TROLLOPE. New York: Harper and Brothers.

for April, is perhaps the most pleasing; its characters act from a higher motive than the ruling characters of the other stories, and though a mistaken act of would-be self-denial brings about an unhappy end, yet the effort after some nobility of character does gratify the reader, and excites a pleasurable sensation. In the other stories the struggle has been of imperfect characters, acting on lower motives. We fancy that the author, in her desire to throw aside and keep under mask her own personal feelings, robs her creations of the human feelings which belong to them. Lest she should betray herself in a too feminine style, she does not dare to indulge herself in a feminine flow of feeling. "The Amber Gods," which is written with infinite spirit and vivacity, not wanting in grace, is a picture of a heartless woman; but alas! it is, perhaps for the reason suggested, heartlessly done. This is an unnecessary affectation. In the greater authors, we see that just where they spend their own personal feeling on the characters they create, they remain themselves the most concealed. Shakespeare's personation of Cleopatra, especially as rendered by Mrs. Kemble, has nothing repulsive in it; we go away from listening to the scene of the death in the "high Roman fashion" with something like admiration in our hearts, which are touched with the spell that moved emperors. It is still a picture of the ambitious, selfish, voluptuous Cleopatra, but it is not a heartless picture, and therefore we are touched.

The same thing is observable in the recently published fragment of story left behind by Charlotte Brontë. In the description of the governess, Miss Wilcox, stands a strong-hearted woman; in her reception of the child who has innocently duped her, she shows a cold, hard, unfeminine nature, but the portraiture is not harsh; we seem to see the real woman by her side, entreating and weeping for the child, in the cool, sarcastic touch itself that carves the marble image.

Thackeray's satires are redeemed by the remembrance of the "tears in his voice" when he was heard in his lectures, and he lingers over some of the most flippant of his characters with a tenderness that seems to say, "Though I paint them as so vain and shallow, yet I like them still. Like them for me." He never turns upon them with disgust. And in parenthesis let us say, recalling almost the last words in "Sir Rohan's Ghost," where Miriam moves her foot "in disgust" towards her father, that nowhere, in all the variety of Shakspeare's characters, does he show any *disgust* for any one of them, nor allow of any such feeling in his readers, however base and low a villain he may put upon the stage.

It is perhaps this anonymous desire that creates a restlessness of style in Miss Prescott's writings; they want repose. In "Yet's Christmas Box," after a warm battledoor and shuttlecock play of repartee, we fall with pleasure into the sole interval of repose, in the mutual love expressed by the grandmother and grandson; this little scene is almost the only one where a permitted love is allowed its way in all these stories, and it comes with a wonderful refreshment.

Scheherezade, the originator of serial stories, had to contend with the same difficulties that the magazine artists of the present day meet

with. Each number must not only be complete in itself, but it must end in such a way as to create a demand for the next. It was a matter of life and death with Scheherezade, as important to her head as to the editor of the *Atlantic* that his subscription should not be cut off. For this reason, her artistic style is worth study. We see that she showed a part of her skill in allowing the Sultan to nod occasionally; not that dulness can ever soothe; its wounds are as incurable for the nervous sufferer as the cut of a dull knife. Scheherezade was never dull. She had the art, however, of bringing repose in the midst of interest and action; and the *blasé* readers of the present day, tossed from one romance to another, with the same restless speed with which they change cars at a junction, enjoy repose in fiction as much as the Sultan struggling with sleep.

"Circumstance," in the May number of the *Atlantic*, opens with a quiet description, which confirms the evidence in the earlier stories that the author holds in reserve the power which she uses quite too seldom. But in this tale, also, we are swept off again, and get upon the same defects to which we have alluded. In the description of the terrific wild beast, the suggestion of the loathsome disgust which it inspired takes away from the horror of the position; the occasional allusions to its loathsomeness detract from the dramatic grandeur that would otherwise render the story most thrilling; and the over-climax at its close is painful to the unprepared reader; while, if the incident were true, it might have been more easily borne by the actors in it, who had been sustained by a severe contest and victory.

All these, however, are the faults of a young writer. The ready pen, the poetic flow of language, the love of the mysterious and vague, united with a talent for clear description, are admirable tools in ambitious hands, and must needs bring out one day works superior to these we have been criticising, where feeling will be expressed as well as suggested, and a higher aim give more earnestness, and worth, and reality, where now there is only talented play, and originality in fiction.

To fix the scene of a novel in Syria is a hazardous venture for one who has not visited and travelled through that land. No amount of study can prevent errors in description of customs and localities. The author of "*El Fureidis*"* has been more successful in avoiding such errors than we might have anticipated, and we are surprised that there are so few criticisms to be made upon the exactness of her statements. She brings, indeed, a view of "*Carmel*" into the voyage from Cyprus to Beyrout, involving so a very circuitous track, and a marvellously long vision. The heights of Lebanon, as seen from the sea, are "cedar-crowned" in her volume, which they are not to any actual observer, the "cedars" of Lebanon being confined to a single famous grove, remote from the sea, and secluded from conspicuous view. She repre-

* *El Fureidis*. By the Author of "*The Lamplighter*" and "*Mabel Vaughan*." Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1860. 12mo. pp. 379.

sents the Maronite women as "horned," while it is the fact that the "horn" has long since been given up by that Christian sect, and only now is seen in the Druse villages. She says that the Eastern doors *usually* turn on pivots; according to our experience, such doors are not common in the Lebanon, or indeed in any part of Syria. That was the antique style, but the hinge has superseded it. She allows "gazelles" to climb mountain crags, and leap from rock to rock like the chamois, — a spectacle which the Syrian hunter is not privileged to witness, the gazelle being an animal of the plain rather than the mountain. In her account of Eptedeen, the palace of the Shehaabs, she has taken some unwarrantable liberties with the narrative of Colonel Churchill, and has strangely confounded the terms "Emir" and "Sheikh," and the houses of Shehaab and Jumblatt. We have been perplexed to know who "M. Y. L. Porter" is, but suppose that it is a new way of describing that sturdy *Englishman*, Mr. J. L. Porter. A few such slight mistakes as these are all that remind us that the description is not from a personal memory.

The novel is interesting, well written, not extravagant in its epithets, as most Oriental stories are expected to be, and not tedious in its pictures of scenery. El Fureidis is an average Lebanon village, and its groves, vineyards, terraces, waterfalls, and romantic place represent what any traveller has often seen in that fascinating range of hills. The characters are few, well sustained, and well contrasted. The sturdy, proud, generous, intellectual Englishman; the jealous, vindictive, passionate Bedouin boy; the sanguine silk-grower, half American, half French; the venerable missionary; the beautiful young daughter of Lebanon, a natural Christian; the old convent, with its dry old monks; the Turkish household in Damascus; and the encampment of the Bedouin chief, — all these are presented in strong, clear, and distinct lines, with a power that cannot be questioned. The book will give Miss Cummins a higher position than either of her previous volumes.

MÉRY is one of the most fascinating, as well as one of the most industrious, of living French novelists. If he cannot rival Dumas in the rapidity of production, and must limit himself to a quarterly rather than a monthly romance, he at any rate writes with more care, and permits the reader to have a reasonable confidence in the accuracy of his facts, and the reality of his pictures. The "*Jewess at the Vatican*"* is his most famous story, and for dramatic power and intense interest it is worthy to be classed with the best stories of George Sand, Balzac, and Merimée. It opens with a description of the scenery and life of Tunis in Africa, from which the reader is shortly transported to Genoa, and finally reaches Rome, where two thirds of the events related happen. The characters, though numerous, are so admirably drawn, that they do not interfere with each other; each has his own individuality, — the bandit, the noble, the Jew father, the Jew son and the Jew daughter,

* *La Juive au Vatican*. Par MÉRY. Paris: Arnold de Viesse. 1859. 16mo. 2 vols. pp. 288, 276.

the countess, the cardinals, the Dutch admiral, the English gentleman, the Roman police and the Roman Lazzaroni, — from the Pope to the dog, all are drawn with the most minute and distinct fidelity. As a series of cabinet pictures of life in Rome in the last days of Gregory and the first days of Pio Nono, this novel can hardly be surpassed. The narrative is as reliable as that of *Mademoiselle Mori*, while the novel is far more interesting and powerful, reaching even, as we think, the interest of Hawthorne's *Marble Faun*. It confirms the worst tales of Papal tyranny and abuses, and shows us, not only what persecutions the Jews have to suffer in the capital of Christendom, but of what iniquities the Inquisition is still capable. The streets, the galleries, the churches, the ruins, all the famous haunts of the city, even to the Catacombs, and the lonely, wild, sad surroundings of the Campagna, are daguerrotyped with marvellous art. One who has known the old gray city lives over again, in this powerful story, his dear and almost mystic experience there.

COMPARED with "*Adam Bede*," the later story by the same author* will not be found so interesting or so pleasant, or so artistically told. But, unless our memory misleads us, it has a more striking and express intellectual character and force. At any rate, special stamina and activity of mind stand out here, and with a certain obvious, compact strength, and powerful but facile energy, command attention. There are laughter-compelling humor, and tear-compelling tenderness, and at times a richness and dignity of artistic work which compel admiration and delight. But the fine compulsion is, after all and before all, over the intellect, through depth of insight, nicety of observation, sagacity of conclusion, and many grave and high qualities of thought which mark intellectual power and equipment as pre-eminent.

What admirable descriptions are met here and there throughout the book, proving an eye to catch all the delicate tints of feature and color in Nature, and a heart to rejoice in all her beauty of sentiment, — pictures which seize the spirit and life through which body and form glow to their brightest and loveliest; the painting, for example, of the fields and moors of the Floss, of pleasant Dorlcote Mill, with its clear stream and blossoming chestnuts, and of the "*Red Deeps*," where the Scotch firs lift up their solemn purple stems, and the dog-roses scatter their opaline petals on the emerald of the grass. But the charm of this artist capability and feeling, which can so finely describe the aspects of natural beauty, and can more finely portray, with the cunning and bold fashioning of the imagination, the features of character and the movements of life, is overshadowed by the dominant, sometimes domineering presence, felt from page to page, of what we may perhaps call intellectuality, meaning by it conspicuous power and activity of the vigorous, decisive, logical, and searching qualities of mind, working to pregnant conclusions, in apothegms of impressive fulness, and through

* *The Mill on the Floss*. By GEORGE ELLIOT. New York: Harper and Brothers.

trains of weighty reflection. The chapters of Book IV., — "The Valley of Humiliation," — might be printed as separate tracts for the times, they are so marked with nice intellectual discretion, penetrative insight, and the large inquiry and fine determinations of thought.

The thought-compelling power of the book is the distinctive feature of it, and marks the proper distinction of the writer among his contemporaries in this sort of literature. This characteristic intellectuality is not, however, a hard and barren attribute, or ill-companied. Out of it or with it goes a dramatic and creative power not surpassed in any novelist of these days. Mr. Tulliver and Bob Jakin are substantial to our interest and affection as Thomas Newcome and Dick Swiveller. And Maggie must move in the memory with as real a presence as Becky Sharpe and Jane Eyre.

We put this novel high among those whose value depends on something more in them than the satisfaction of a transient pleasure or excitement. Yet it must be confessed that the story, in plot and event, is utterly forlorn. Still, had it depended, for interest or enjoyment, more on a happy or gentle fate for its characters, and on the make up of its circumstances to an end which should please all readers, it might not have been so excellent a book. We hold it to be an unreasonable demand which is made so persistently, that a novel should "turn out well," as the phrase goes. Why make this demand upon the novelist any more than the dramatist? We remember few more disagreeable things than a performance it was our own ill fortune to witness of Nahum Tate's sacrilegious travesty of "Lear," at the end of which Cordelia and Edgar are respectably married after the somewhat rough course of their true love, and Lear and Kent propose to themselves a rather recluse but jolly life in their remnant of years. But the immortal partner of Brady sought in this only to please the common desire to have a story or a play close with happy issues to all concerned, save perhaps the villain. Still we must, on the whole, prefer the Shakespearian method. Is anything left for Othello and Lady Macbeth but to die? Ruskin, in one of those eloquent notes which adorn in elucidating the text, brings out, in this impressive way, the sorrowful fatalism which the great dramatist uses so grandly in the solemn, inevitable movement of his tragedies: "Othello mislays his handkerchief, and there remains nothing for him but death. Hamlet gets hold of the wrong foil, and the rest is silence. Edmund's runner is a moment too late at the prison, and the feather will not move at Cordelia's lips. Salisbury a moment too late at the tower, and Arthur lies on the stones dead. Goneril and Iago have, on the whole, in this world, Shakespeare sees, much of their own way, though they come to a bad end. It is a pin that Death pierces the king's fortress-wall with; and Carelessness and Folly sit, sceptred and dreadful, side by side with the pin-armed skeleton." And on a lower range of literature, albeit in toil and struggle not less tragic, we ought not complain of the destiny that Maggie and Tom should go down in the flood, when the waves and billows had gone over them of great temptations and manifold sorrows, mercifully not divided in their death, though life had put such sad division between

them. Neither in fact, nor in its faithful image by fiction, can we expect that environing circumstance should so fit as to answer our hopes and wishes, and that the necessity which

"doth front the universe
With an invincible gesture,"

should so fall as to please our sensibilities.

MISCELLANEOUS.

MR. SMILES is already favorably known by his admirable biography of George Stephenson. The general character of his new work * is indicated by the title. It contains illustrations drawn from many quarters, chiefly from English biography, of the advantage to be derived from helping one's self by every honest means. It might have for its text Emerson's injunction, "Do your own work, and you shall reinforce yourself." Not merely in reading this book, but in nearly all biographies, one is struck with the prevailing fact, that greatness is achieved in almost every department of science, art, or literature, — in inventions, discoveries, improvements, and the like, — by persons not educated, except by themselves, to the career in which they gain their victories. Such facts furnish the evidence of what is always manifest enough to reason, that every man, who is made at all, is self-made. The nature of Mr. Smiles's undertaking is not at all new, nor is the lesson it teaches broached for the first time; but, as is the case with all truth, it can never be repeated too often. Everything which tends to give a man the benefit of experience, without personally undergoing it, is so much clear gain. Whenever an example of a truly successful man is taken to heart, and the life and character moulded by that ideal, conviction takes the place of speculation, thought becomes action, and life is doubled by the saving. All men cannot be famous, but all can be true. *Self-Help* is full of hints toward making the most and best of things. The main purpose of all such works is worthy of praise; and fortunately the manner in which that purpose is attained by Mr. Smiles is as excellent as the purpose itself. There is nothing canting or pietistic, nothing tending to exalt wealth unduly, or encourage mere love of fame. Throughout, character is asserted to be superior to talent; and honest and hearty devotion to the highest aims, better than all external success.

To be a true gentleman — that acme of modern civilization — is not attained by the reading of books, but by birth and breeding; and books on etiquette are, for the most part, a weariness to the spirit, since they attempt to make outward rules give what must be born or nurtured in the man. Not that they are not well enough in their way, for all the niceties of etiquette have their foundation, no doubt, in genuine kindness of feeling, or a delicate appreciation of comfort, and are there-

* *Self-Help*; with Illustrations of Character and Conduct. By SAMUEL SMILES. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1860.

fore worth knowing and observing; the world is pleasanter to live in because of them. So we are glad to see, in the "*Habits of Good Society*,"* an attempt, and a successful one, to treat the subject in a broader and more scholarly manner than is usual. It is a satisfaction to feel sure that the author is at home with his subject,—which we do not always feel sure about in works of this kind,—that he is at once "a gentleman and a scholar." One merit of the book is his disposition to acknowledge the good features of Continental, particularly French, customs, and to recommend them for imitation. So, too, with American, in one or two instances, as in the use of white waistcoats and trousers; but he shows himself, on the whole, ludicrously ignorant of this country. After an absurd account of the insolence and ill-breeding of "what is there called good society," he adds: "Of course these remarks do not apply to New York, which, in civilization, is as far in advance of the States generally as London is of the Hebrides."

If anything can take the place of growing up in constant intercourse with good society, it is reading such a book as this; for it is so thoroughly readable and entertaining, that on taking it up one hardly cares to lay it down; and although the precepts be not committed to memory, yet they have somehow crept into the mind without effort, much as they would from living with those who daily practise them. In his unsparing attacks on all vulgarity, snobbishness, and discourtesy, the writer may be ranked as a reformer; and there is nothing in the spirit of the book which will not apply to America, although many of the details might better, perhaps, have been omitted in an American edition.

AMONG the excellent religious tales which exhibit in so attractive form many phases of the popular Christianity, we are glad to call special attention to one of the latest, and, as it seems to us, one of the best. "*Katherine Morris*" is written in the form of an autobiography,—the reminiscence of a woman who has reached middle life through a series of experiences not very widely apart from the common lot, penetrated, suffused, and sanctified by the pure and beautiful piety which has been slowly wrought out, through griefs, joys, and trials that appeal to the sympathies of the common heart. The piety won at last is healthy and serene. Yet the form of the narrative suggests and justifies a certain intense and introspective tone of feeling, which would be almost overstrained, but that it bears the aspect of a personal confession, so to speak, rendered at the bar of conscience, and uttered with the pure motive of doing good. The author has been skilfully faithful to this tone and purpose, and in several passages of the book scenes from nature or from life are drawn which give it no small amount of literary beauty and charm.

PROF. COOKE'S "*Elements of Chemical Physics*" is a large and handsome volume, generously illustrated with engravings, amply pro-

* *The Habits of Good Society. A Handbook for Ladies and Gentlemen.* From the last London Edition. New York: Rudd and Carleton. MDCCCLX. 12mo. pp. 435.

vided with such supplementary matter as index, tables, etc., and very complete and thorough in its plan. It is adapted throughout to the French system of weights and measures, full tables being given for their reduction to the popular standards, as well as a full explanation and discussion of their relative advantages. This is an example which we hope to see more generally adopted in works of pure science, until the public becomes habituated to the great beauty and convenience of that system. The work is remarkably full, not only of the illustrations and applications which show the practical side of the science it treats, but also of examples and problems, in very great variety, to adapt it to the wants of the recitation-room. In external appearance, as well as in general thoroughness of preparation, it seems to us an admirable model of a text-book of the first rank. It is to be followed by two similar volumes, one treating of Light and Crystallography, especially as connected with Chemistry, and the other of Stoichiometry (the doctrine of chemical equivalents) and of Chemical Classification.

THE fourth and last volume of Rawlinson's *Herodotus** maintains the high character the preceding volumes have earned for fidelity, copiousness and elegance. As a translation alone, the nice appreciation of his author, and his skill in language, have enabled Mr. Rawlinson to preserve wonderfully well the grace and simplicity, the freshness, and even the delicate aroma, of the style of the Father of History. So that the translation may be said to be almost as charming reading as the original. The notes, illustrations, maps, and essays enhance the value of the work. This volume contains the seventh, eighth, and ninth books, which are made up for the most part of the expedition of Xerxes. The essays contain little of general interest, being for the most part upon recondite subjects. Essay II., appended to the seventh book, treats of the early migrations of the Phœnicians; it is the author's opinion that the Phœnicians were not identical with the Canaanites, but migrated from the coast of the Southern Sea, at about the thirteenth century before Christ. A translation of the inscription on the tomb of Darius near Persepolis is given, corroborating the view of the editors previously expressed, that the revolt of the Pseudo-Smerdis was religious—Magian—in its character, not national, or Median, as has been supposed; and that Darius, on coming to the throne, restored the worship of Ormazd. It ends thus:—

“O people! the law of Ormazd—that having returned to you, let it not perish. (Beware) lest ye abandon the true doctrine. (Beware) lest ye stumble (or lest ye oppress it.)”

IN “A Voice from the Washingtonian Home,”† Mr. David Harrison

* The History of Herodotus. A New English Version. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M. A., late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford. Assisted by Col. SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, K. C. B., and SIR J. G. WILKINSON, F. R. S. In Four Volumes. Vol. IV. with Maps and Illustrations. London: John Murray. 1860. 8vo. pp. 561.

† A Voice from the Washingtonian Home. By DAVID HARRISON, JR. Boston: Redding & Co.

has given nearly three years' experience of one of the most interesting attempts ever made at human reformation. He has prefaced it by a general history of the Temperance cause, an account of the Baltimore movement in 1840, called the Washingtonian Reform, and a scientific statement of the disease of Intemperance. His style might well have been simpler; his statements ought to have been more exact; authentic names should have filled the places now left blank, and a better proof-reader should have corrected the text. Still, the book is noteworthy in several respects. The publisher, paper-manufacturer, engraver, and author, are all graduates of this Home for the Fallen: and of nearly seven hundred who have been subjected to its treatment, two thirds are now trustworthy ornaments and advocates of the temperance cause. Every profession has found its representatives within the humble walls of No. 36 Charles street, Boston,—lawyers and ministers, physicians and merchants, editors and seamen. Half as much success as we know this unpretending institution has already had, in a community so crowded as ours with temptation, is a hundred-fold reward for the patient, Christian, generous effort.

Again, this new Home demonstrates the power of kindness, and breathes the intensest faith in the recoverableness of the sinful. It has not picked its subjects, and avoided the desperate cases. Neither does it rely at all upon bolts and bars: welcoming all who apply with the determination to reform, it puts no restraint on their movements (except while they are under the spell of delirium), allows them to spend their evenings abroad, furnishes money to those who are in need, and only relies on their word of honor to return. While members of this reformatory household, they are free to go, as they were free to come. The great New York institution at Binghampton proposes to pursue a different course; but it will be to inevitable discomfiture: restraint and coercion have only temporary influence over this melancholy infatuation. Lunatic asylums and houses of correction have not half the power of such winning kindness as has been so wonderfully blessed in the "Home for the Fallen."

A third fact is honorable to the supporters of this movement, and characteristic of Boston charity. There has been no waiting for legislative grants, for a splendid edifice, and abundant means of support. The present building, the third removal of the Home, is far too small; the funds are not half what they should be; more and more will be cut off from any chance of cure by the crowded state of this only retreat for a most deplorable malady. Still, it was noble to obey the Divine bidding at once, and do all the good that humble means permitted, in expectation of better to come. A small commencement even had its advantages; so novel an experiment was best tried on a few cases at first. The managers needed to feel their way in the beginning, and to gather experience by minute study of the cases committed to their care.

A fourth circumstance we notice with pleasure. Religious influences are freely used to cheer and strengthen these weaker brethren. Besides morning and evening prayers, two conference meetings are held every week; not in any sectarian spirit, but as inspiring those

whom society has tempted, and the world cast out, with Christian hope and spiritual energy. Many a time these must be the medicines which minister to the mind diseased, which quicken the despairing one with confidence, invigorate the outcast by sympathy, and lead an enslaved spirit out of its bondage into the liberty with which Christ makes free. To Mr. Albert Day, the Superintendent, the principal credit of the successful enterprise is due. To business ability and firmness of character he unites remarkable adaptedness, inexhaustible patience, and a spirit of religious consecration. Securing the love of every member of his household, he wins their confidence and commands their respect. More than any asylum or other house of reformation, the Home depends upon the character of its head; and, where it falls into the hands of so gifted a person as Mr. Day, it must yield the richest fruit which has yet clustered around the Temperance Reform, justify our firmest faith in human nature, and inspire generous hope for the future.

Two new issues of Bunsen's *Bibelwerk** give us the fourth and the ninth half-volumes. The former contains the version of the Book of Isaiah, the latter the first part of the *Bibelurkunden*, including the essays on the ante-Mosaic and the Mosaic histories. The *Bibelurkunden* (Bible Documents) constitutes the second main division of this comprehensive work, the first being the BIBEL, — translation and exposition of the text, — the third the *Bibelgeschichte*, — Biblical History. The *Bibelurkunden* is devoted to the elucidation of the Old and New Testaments by critical and historical essays, embodying the results of modern discoveries in these departments. For the accommodation of readers, the first part of this division is published before the completion of the first division, of which the whole New Testament and a portion of the Old are yet to come. The author deemed it expedient to follow the version of the Law and the Prophets, as soon as possible, with the essays illustrative of their contents.

By the simultaneous publication of ten beautiful volumes containing the poetical works of Robert Southey, Messrs. Little, Brown, & Co. continue their unsurpassed series of the British Poets. As this series lengthens its list from year to year, the number is steadily increasing over our whole country of that class of readers who will appreciate the convenience, the attractiveness, and the cheapness of the form of these precious volumes, enriched by all the wealth of one whole department of our native literature. Professor Child, the editor of the series, follows the standard English edition of Southey's Works, which the author himself prepared and arranged, at the age of sixty-three. An ample apparatus of notes accompanies such of the poems as need it. The first volume contains a brief, but an adequate and a most satisfactory biographical sketch, by Henry T. Tuckerman.

* BUNSEN'S *Bibelwerk*. Vierter Halbband, Erste Hälfte. — Neunter Halbband. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1860.

A REPRINT of the volume of recent Oxford Essays, noticed on a previous page, is announced, and will shortly be published, by Walker, Wise, & Co.

Proposals have been issued to publish by subscription the collected writings of Herbert Spencer, one of the very ablest, if not the first, among recent English authors and thinkers on scientific subjects. We design, at an early opportunity, to set forth the views of Mr. Spencer and his school with the fulness of criticism and exposition which their importance seems to demand.

NOTE TO ART. III.

WHENEVER the friends of both Italy and the Roman Church propose the abdication of all temporal power as the only means to reconcile the rights of the nation with the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, — nay, as the only practicable means of saving the latter from utter destruction, — they are told that such thing cannot be done by the Bishop of Rome, owing to the solemn oath of transmitting that power to his successors just as he received it when crowned king of the Roman States. To this might be answered, that it is the doctrine of that Church not to regard an oath, no matter how solemn, when it becomes a bond of iniquity and cannot be kept without violating human or divine law. Now, if the Popes are able to continue on their throne without being aided by deceit, breach of promise, spoliation, and wholesale murder, nobody will certainly object to their remaining what ambition and despotism made them. But is such the fact? Does not history tell us how they succeeded in acquiring and preserving their power? Has any other country been witness to greater crimes than those by which it was supported? Besides, the sanctity of an oath, under such circumstances, ought not to be adduced as an insuperable obstacle by persons who claim for the Popes the power of absolving from all vows and oaths, and dispensing with the observance of the laws of God. Have they not often absolved themselves, as well as other princes, from like obligations? Could they not do at present for the good of their country and of religion what they have done so many times to ruin both?

NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

THEOLOGY.

A General View of the Rise, Progress, and Corruptions of Christianity. By Richard Whately, Archbishop of Dublin. With a Sketch of the Life of the Author, and a Catalogue of his Writings. New York: William Gowans. 12mo. pp. 288.

The Church of the First Three Centuries; or, Notices of the Lives and Opinions of some of the Early Fathers, with Special Reference to the Doctrine of the Trinity, illustrating its late Origin and gradual Formation. By Alvan Lamson, D. D. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 8vo. pp. 352.

Lessons at the Cross; or, Spiritual Truths familiarly exhibited in their Relations to Christ. By Samuel Hopkins. Seventh Edition. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 16mo. pp. 274.

Unitarianism Defined: the Scripture Doctrine of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. A Course of Lectures by F. A. Farley, D. D. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 12mo. pp. 272.

Lectures on the Doctrine of the Atonement, with an Appendix. By J. Scott Porter. London: E. T. Whitfield. 8vo. pp. 166.

The New Discussion of the Trinity, containing Notices of Prof. Huntington's recent Defence of that Doctrine (reprinted from various Journals) together with Sermons by Rev. T. S. King and Dr. O. Dewey. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 16mo. pp. 244.

The Elements of Christian Doctrine and its Development. Five Sermons, by Edward E. Hale. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 8vo. pp. 68.

Remembered Words from the Sermons of Rev. I. Nichols, late Pastor of the First Parish in Portland, Maine. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee, & Co. 12mo. pp. 141.

Christ our Life; the Scriptural Argument for Immortality through Christ alone. By C. F. Hudson. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. 12mo. pp. 160.

Sermons, by Rev. William Morley Punshon. New York: Derby and Jackson. 12mo. pp. 350.

Science in Theology. Sermons preached in St. Mary's, Oxford, before the University. By Adam S. Farrar. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. 12mo. pp. 250.

Morning Hours in Patmos; the Opening Vision of the Apocalypse and Christ's Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia. By A. C. Thompson. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 12mo. pp. 268.

The Confessions of Augustine. Edited, with an Introduction, by William G. T. Shedd. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 12mo. pp. 417.

The Year of Grace; a History of the Revival in New England, A. D. 1859. By the Rev. William Gibson. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 12mo. pp. 464.

A Commentary on the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, intended for Popular Use. By D. D. Whedon, D. D. New York: Carlton and Porter. 12mo. pp. 422.

The Homilist; a Series of Sermons for Preachers and Laymen. Original and Selected. By Erwin House. New York: Carlton and Porter. 12mo. pp. 496.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Conti-

ment. By George Bancroft. Vol. VIII. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 8vo. pp. 475.

The Life of Stephen A. Douglas. By James W. Sheahan. New York: Harper and Brothers. 12mo. pp. 528.

The Boy Inventor: a Memoir of Matthew Edwards, Mathematical-Instrument Maker. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 16mo. pp. 109.

A Popular History of England. By Mrs. Thomas Geldart. New York: Sheldon & Co. 16mo. pp. 275.

Early Methodism within the Bounds of the Old Genesee Conference. By George Peek, D. D. New York: Carlton and Porter. 12mo. pp. 512.

The Life of Jacob Gruber. By W. P. Strickland. New York: Carlton and Porter. 12mo. pp. 384. (Mr. Gruber was a Circuit Preacher in Pennsylvania.)

History of Genghis Khan. By Jacob Abbot. New York: Harper and Brothers. 16mo. pp. 335.

History of the Great Reformation in England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, France, and Italy. By Rev. Thomas Carter. New York: Carlton and Porter. 12mo. pp. 372.

EDUCATION, ETC.

M. Tullii Ciceronis pro A. Cluentio Habito Oratio ad Iudices. With English Notes, by Austin Stickney, A. M. Cambridge: Sever and Francis. 12mo. pp. 144.

Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb. By W. W. Goodwin, Ph. D. Cambridge: Sever and Francis. 12mo. pp. 311.

Plato's Apology and Crito. With Notes. By W. S. Tyler. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 180.

A Course of Exercises in all Parts of French Syntax. By Frederick Winkelmann. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 366.

The Elementary Spelling-Book. By Noah Webster. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 16mo. pp. 168.

Text Book of Intellectual Philosophy; for Schools and Colleges; containing an Outline of the Science, with an Abstract of its History. By J. T. Champlin, D. D., President of Waterville College. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee, & Co. 12mo. pp. 240.

Harper's Series of School and Family Readers. First, Second, Third, and Fourth Readers, with Primer. By Marcius Willson. New York: Harper and Brothers. (Abundantly and handsomely illustrated.)

The Physiology of Common Life. By George Henry Lewes. Vol. II. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 410.

Introduction to the Study of International Law. By Theodore D. Woolsey. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 486.

Cicero on Oratory and Orators. Translated or Edited by J. S. Wasson. New York: Harper and Brothers. 12mo. pp. 379.

A Smaller History of Greece; from the Earliest Times to the Roman Conquest. By William Smith. New York: Harper and Brothers. 16mo. pp. 248.

NOVELS AND TALES.

The Semi-detached House. Edited by Lady Theresa Lewis. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 12mo. pp. 311.

The Mill on the Floss. By George Eliot. New York: Harper and Brothers. 12mo. pp. 464. (See p. 145.)

The Throne of David, from the Consecration of the Shepherd of Bethle-

hem, to the Rebellion of Prince Absalom. In a Series of Letters. By J. H. Ingraham. Philadelphia: G. G. Evans. 12mo. pp. 603. (Notice deferred.)

El Fureidis. By the Author of "The Lamplighter" and "Mabel Vaughan." Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 12mo. pp. 379. (See p. 143.)

Katherine Morris; an Autobiography. By the Author of "Step by Step," and "Here and Hereafter." Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 12mo. pp. 353. (See p. 148.)

Rutledge. New York: Derby and Jackson. 12mo. pp. 504.

A Mother's Trials. New York: Harper and Brothers. 12mo. pp. 400.

Margaret Moncrieffe; the First Love of Aaron Burr. A Romance of the Revolution. By Charles Burdett. New York: Derby and Jackson. 12mo. pp. 437.

Danesbury House. By Mrs. Henry Wood. New York: Harper and Brothers. 12mo. pp. 282.

POETRY.

Fresh Hearts that Failed Three Thousand Years ago; with other Things. By the Author of "The New Priest in Conception Bay." Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 12mo. pp. 121.

Poems. By William H. Holcombe, M. D. New York: Mason Brothers. 12mo. pp. 360.

Lucille. By Owen Meredith. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. (Blue and Gold.) A Narrative in some points of exceeding beauty; but hurt by its crude poetic form, and its disproportionate digressions.

Quaker Quiddities; or, Friends in Council. A Colloquy. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee, & Co. 16mo. pp. 48.

JUVENILE.

Stories of Rainbow and Lucky. By Jacob Abbott. New York: Harper and Brothers. 24mo. pp. 183.

Little Songs for Little People. New York: Carlton and Porter. 16mo. pp. 244.

The Oakland Stories. By George B. Taylor. Cousin Guy. New York: Sheldon & Co. 16mo. pp. 173.

Tales from the Bible, for the Young. By William M. Thayer. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 16mo. pp. 262.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Notes on Nursing. What it is, and what it is not. By Florence Nightingale. With some Account of her Life. Boston: William Carter. 12mo. pp. 104. (Paper.)

Sketch Book; or, Miscellaneous Anecdotes, illustrating a Variety of Topics proper to the Pulpit and Platform. By William C. Smith. New York: Carlton and Porter. 16mo. pp. 352.

The Story of a Pocket Bible. Ten Illustrations. New York: Carlton and Porter. 16mo. pp. 412.

Light in the Valley; or the Life and Letters of Mrs. Hannah Bocking. New York: Carlton and Porter. 24mo. pp. 176.

A Voice from the Washingtonian Home. By David Harrison, Jr. Boston: Redding & Co. 12mo. pp. 322. (See p. 149.)

Stories from the Scriptures. Samson. New York: Sheldon & Co. pp. 15. (Printed on Cloth.)

The Human Will. A Series of Posthumous Essays on Moral Accountabil-

ity, etc. By the late James Pollard Espy. Cincinnati: Office of the Dial. 8vo. pp. 95.

The West Indies and the Spanish Main. By Anthony Trollope. New York: Harper and Brothers. 12mo. pp. 385. (See p. 141.)

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